



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

WIDENER LIBRARY



HX 698H E

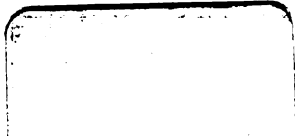
Fr 1327.4

Fr 1327.4

Harvard College Library



GIFT OF
JOSEPH HORACE CLARK
(Class of 1857)
OF BOSTON



ANNALS

OF THE

French Revolution;

OR,

A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF

Its Principal Events;

WITH A VARIETY OF

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS

HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

BY

F. A. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE,

MINISTER OF STATE.



TRANSLATED

By R. C. DALLAS, Esq.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE AUTHOR, WHICH HAS
NEVER BEEN PUBLISHED.

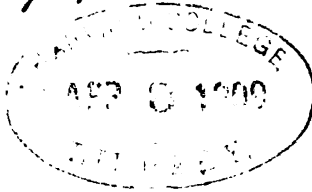
VOL. III.

London :

PUBLISHED BY J. HARRIS, CORNER OF ST. PAUL'S
CHURCH-YARD.

1813.

Fr 1327.4



Gift of
Joseph H. Clark
of Boston

ANNALS
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Address from the Commune of Marseilles to the Assembly—Tumult occasioned by it—Petion's Suspension confirmed by the King—The Assembly hear Petion's Defence, and the Argument of the Procureur-Syndic, and refer the Business to the Commission of the Twelve—The Report of the Commission, and Decision of the Assembly—The Festival of the Federation—Substance of Mallet-du-Pan's Correspondence at this Period with M. Bertrand relative to his Mission.

PART II. VOL. III.

B

ERE

ERE the middle of July there did not remain in the Capital the least trace of the great indignation that had been raised by the outrages of the 20th of June. The Jacobins had so completely succeeded in *popularizing* them, that the prosecutions commenced on the occasion were denounced as Counter-revolutionary manœuvres, or as acts of despotism. The interest that had been inspired by the courage, moderation, and goodness displayed on that horrible day by the King and the Royal Family, was entirely extinguished. The people were told only of the virtuous *Petion*, and pretended plots laid against him by the Court, the Royalists, the Aristocrats, &c. At the same time every possible means was used to procure him the good will and protection of the National Volunteers, who were daily arriving in crowds, either to assist at the festival of the Federation*, or in obedience to the decree which had ordained the formation of a camp of 20,000 men in the envi-

* These patriots from the Departments were, at the request of the Municipality, lodged and maintained by the patriots of the Capital.

rons of Paris: for notwithstanding the refusal of the sanction, which rendered it null, several Municipalities, influenced by the Jacobin Clubs, had resolved to execute it; and the Assembly, when informed of these resolutions, had shamelessly bestowed their applauses on this manifest violation of that Constitution which they were constantly swearing to maintain completely. The Jacobins also were ever repeating the same oath; yet those pretended friends of the Constitution did not the less exert all their powers to accelerate the annihilation of it, and particularly of the Monarchical part of it. This spirit was manifest in all the addresses which they presented to the Assembly, and in those of all the Administrative Bodies whom they influenced. I shall instance only that of the Council-General of the Commune of Marseilles, which was read to the Assembly in the Sitting of the 12th of July, and in which were the following passages:

“ Eternal Reason demonstrates to us that
“ the laws relative to Royalty imposed on
“ the Legislature, counteracts the Rights of
“ Man. It is time for the nation to govern
“ itself. How could your predecessors, the
B 2 framers

“ framers of the Constitution, have con-
“ sented to establish that Royalty should be
“ delegated hereditarily to the reigning race,
“ from male to male, in the order of pri-
“ mogeniture? What has this reigning race
“ done to be preferred to every other?
“ Where is the sage who can say that the
“ son of the best of Kings may not be the
“ worst of men? Are nations to be sacri-
“ ficed to the monsters whom barbarous
“ laws had placed over them? No; none
“ but abettors of arbitrary power can main-
“ tain such prejudices. How infamous!
“ The nation, at the time, remonstrated
“ strongly against those faulty articles ad-
“ mitted into the Constitution. And what
“ has this privileged race done? Have we
“ forgotten the iron rod with which it kept
“ us in subjection? What are its services?
“ It presents only men loaded with crimes!
“ Shall we confide in him, whom the habit
“ of seeing nothing, and daring every thing,
“ is hurrying into the footsteps of his bro-
“ thers? What! when the nation is sup-
“ pressing, destroying, and overturning all
“ the monuments of tyranny and slavery,
“ shall it bend the knee before a perjured
“ family? And does not the duration of
“ that

“ that enormous Civil List, which cannot
“ be diminished but at the end of every
“ reign, perpetuate the means of corrup-
“ tion which it gives? And is not the law
“ which gives to the King alone the choice
“ and dismissal of the Ministers, in spite
“ of their pretended responsibility, an inex-
“ haustible source of abuse, treachery, and
“ disorder? And, in short, as to that sus-
“ pensive *Veto*, opposed at the pleasure of a
“ single man to our best laws against the
“ general will, does it not radically destroy
“ our Constitution? Confess, Legislators,
“ that our Constituent Assembly have con-
“ stituted nothing; and if you wish to be
“ any thing, if you wish to answer the
“ desire of the nation, abrogate a law
“ which renders it null; and let not
“ those wicked maxims, which inculcate
“ that an hereditary King can represent the
“ nation, be any longer sanctioned, &c.”

This seditious address was applauded with rapture by the galleries, and chiefly by that in which the Federates were. These provincial patriots were not initiated into the secret of the factious: they had a few minutes before seen a deputation of their comrades obtain great applause and the honours

of the Sitting, after pronouncing at the Bar an harangue which had appeared to them as seditious as that of the Marfeillois *. It did not strike them that the harangue of the Federates of Bergerac only attacked the King, while the Address of the Commune of Marfeilles tended to the total overthrow of the Constitution, and to invest the Legislative Body with Constituent powers, &c. That was indeed the secret plan of the Jacobins, but it was imprudent to divulge or confess it before the moment for putting it into execution, and that moment was not yet arrived; the majority of the Assembly therefore were seen rising at once, some to move a censure of the Address, others that the persons who had signed it should be punished. These motions created such a violent uproar in the galleries, that the President ordered the Commander of the Na-

* This harangue, which was delivered by a deputation of the Federate Volunteers of the little town of Bergerac, in Perigord, began with these words: "Informed of the machinations of a perfidious Court, that it is at length time to strike with the thunder with which you are invested, the citizens of Bergerac have hastened to make a rampart of their bodies for you."

tional guard to place four centinels in each. This order did not allay the tumult, and several Members of the Assembly took a part in it.

“ It is very astonishing,” cried some, “ that the Representatives of the nation should affront the Federates who attend their Sitting.”—“ It is very astonishing,” replied others, “ that the soldiers of the law should show no respect to the deliberations of the Legislators.” At length, after a great deal of noisy debating, which was, however, considerably curtailed by their eagerness to hear a letter from the King received by the President, the Assembly referred the letter of the *Commune* of Marseilles to the Commission of the Twelve, and decreed that the report upon it should be made next day.

The King mentioned in his letter, that, conformably to Art. viii. of Sect. 2. Chap. iv. of the Constitution, he had charged the Minister of Justice to deliver to the Assembly the proclamation made by his Majesty on the Resolution of the Department, by which the Mayor and *Procureur-Syndic* of the *Commune* of Paris had been provisionally suspended. The King confirmed that Re-

folution, and his decision was founded on the most solid reasons, taken from the Constitution or the sanctioned laws, and given with great force in the preamble of the proclamation*. It was heard by the Assembly with the most indecent marks of anger and impatience, and the Reader's voice was at times drowned by their murmurs. It was scarcely read through, when *Petion* appeared at the Bar and pleaded his own cause, not from any occasion he had to defend it, for it was gained before he opened his mouth; but to revenge himself on the Directory of the Department, whom he accused, in almost every sentence, of prevarication, imposture, Aristocracy, Counter-revolutionary sentiments, &c. "When
 " I read this Resolution," said he, " I
 " shuddered with indignation, and my soul
 " revolted against the treacherous hands that
 " traced it. I should never have conceived
 " that one of the best actions of my public
 " life, one that leaves the most pleasing re-
 " flections on my mind, could have become
 " a ground of persecution." What a villain
 must he be, whose best action, on his

* Appendix, No. XXVI.

own confession, was to have countenanced the outrages of the 20th of June! and what a heart must that be that had not more pleasing sensations than those communicated to it by the reflections created by that horrid day!

Petion expressed himself with no less impudence on his Majesty's proclamation. "I say nothing of the King's decision," said he, "the Department had done him a good office by suspending me; the King does them one in return by standing forth to support them. The Department in all their conduct have displayed such perfect harmony with the views of the Court, that their union of mind on this occasion is nothing surprising, and I cannot but feel myself honoured by this decision." This defence, too dull and too disgusting for me to take the pains of giving it at greater length, obtained loud and frequent plaudits, which were redoubled when *Petion*, invited to the honours of the Sitting, crossed the Hall and placed himself in the *Coté-gauche*, among his worthy friends and colleagues of the club of Jacobins.

The Assembly referred *Petion's* speech and the King's proclamation, with the
papers

papers annexed to it, to the Commission of the Twelve, with an injunction to make a report upon them at the next Sitting. This was preceded by the reading of the Argument* of the *Procureur-Syndic* of the Department, *Roederer*, on the Mayor's case. This paper was mentioned by the *Petion* party as a master-piece of discussion and method, adapted to throw a full light on this business; but the impartial eye of History will, on the contrary, see in it only a precedent of pleading for great criminals. It will perceive truth through the coverings in which the *Procureur Syndic* laboured to envelop it by the subtilty of his arguments. History will not admit, as he did, that the Municipal officers had done all that their duty required to prevent the riot of the 20th

* The word in French is *requisitoire*, which is a part in conducting a cause unknown in the forms of the English Courts. When Counsel have been heard for each side, the *Procureur-General*, who is a public officer, enters into an impartial examination of the arguments on both sides, and states his own opinion on the case, after which the cause is decided. With us, this part of the *Procureur's* duty is, to use a law expression, merged in the office of the Judge. I am not aware of a more appropriate term than that I have used.

TRANSLATOR.

of

of June, by merely requiring the Commander of the National Guard *to make all the arrangements necessary for the public tranquillity*. It will determine, in the first place, that they ought to have enjoined him in the most positive terms, and on his responsibility, to use the most effectual means of force to prevent any riot whatever; secondly, that when the Commanders of the two Fauxbourgs on being summoned before them, had the effrontery to tell *Petion*, “that nothing could prevent the National Guard and citizens from marching armed,” he ought to have repeated to them very forcibly the same injunction, instead of losing his time in vague consultations of the Department at the very moment that the mob had begun to collect; thirdly, that 25 or 30,000 Parisian National Guards formed a force more than sufficient to stop all assembling or to disperse it, and most certainly to prevent the breaking into the Palace, even without striking a blow, by stationing eight or ten thousand men in the Courts, and on the terrace of the garden, with orders to present their bayonets, and use no other resistance against the mob than
than

than a firm position* ; fourthly, that the Assembly, in permitting armed mobs to file off before them, had clearly infringed, but had not annulled the law which prohibited them ; and consequently that the breach of it was still a serious offence, for which all might be punished who could not avail themselves, like the Legislative Body, of exemption from responsibility, and of privilege of inviolability, to violate all the laws with impunity.

The report of the Commission of the Twelve was only a commentary on the argument of the *Procureur-Syndic* of the Department, and concluded that the suspension of *Petion*, adjudged by the Resolution of the Department, and confirmed by the King, should be taken off. This conclusion, which was received with rapturous acclamations by the galleries, was applauded and adopted by the majority of the Assembly, notwithstanding the strong remonstrances of the *Coté-droit*, who not being

* M. *Raederer* himself confessed in his Argument that he had seen a magazine of corn at Metz attacked by a mob of 6,000 persons, and saved by 600 men standing round it firm and without moving, but resolved to keep their post.

able

able to obtain permission for the papers to be read before the votes were collected, took no part in the decision*.

In order to make some little show of impartiality in this judgment, and of disapprobation of the outrages of the 20th of June, the Assembly put off deciding on the suspension of *Manuel* till he should be heard†; and in annulling the return of the proceedings to the Court as far as they concerned the Mayor and Municipal officers, they decreed that the Minister of Justice should in three days lay before them an account of the prosecutions which had been instituted against the authors and instigators of those events.

* The Members of the Directory of the Department being rendered completely unpopular by their Resolution, all of them, except the *Procureur-Syndic*, resigned their places a few days after this decision.

† He was heard in the Sitting of the 16th of July. His defence, composed no doubt in the delirium of the raging fever he had had for some days, was a mere tissue of imposture, calumny, and gross insults, against the King and Queen. He delivered it with the accent and hideous contortions of a man transported with rage. The more he bawled, the more was he applauded by the galleries and a part of the Assembly. He obtained, as *Petion* had done, the honours of the Sitting, but his suspension was not taken off till the 23d of July.

The

The King, although he daily experienced the unfortunate effects of not having a fixed and determined plan of conduct, still persevered in his irresolution, and in the fatal habit of adopting but partially the measures that were proposed to him by those whom he consulted. The advice which, after concerting with M. *de Montmorin* and M. *Malouet*, I gave his Majesty, on this occasion, was to persist in his refusal of deciding on the Resolution of the Department, notwithstanding it had been returned to him by the Assembly, and to give for this determination the Constitutional reasons I stated in the last chapter. This appeared to us the more prudent, as the King, if he decided at all, could not but confirm the Resolution, and as that confirmation, adjudged at a moment when the enthusiasm of the people in favour of *Petion* was raised to a pitch of delirium, must increase the vexations and dangers of the situation to which his Majesty was reduced. It would have been different if, on this occasion, the King could have left Paris; but unfortunately he was engaged to be present at the festival of the Federation.

Thus, in spite of all our efforts, new errors daily accelerated the catastrophe impending

pending over the King and the Monarchy. I cannot but say that it required the immutable devotion and ardent zeal that animated us not to be disheartened by the constant obstacles thrown by the King's irresolution in the way of all our measures. We thought nothing of our dangers, however imminent : deprived of every means of preventing the downfall of the throne, all our care, all our ambition now was, to save the lives of this august family, who were perpetually exposed to the weapons of assassins.

A few days before the Federation, I received intelligence of a design, formed by *Santerre*, to murder the Queen. From a description given of the fellow that was to be the assassin, he was taken, but next morning, on the way to the magistrate's, he was rescued by a band of ruffians. A minute was drawn up of the circumstance, and left with the Justice, to serve as a proof against the murderer should he appear again*.

The

* A fuller account of this design to murder her Majesty is given in the Private Memoirs, Vol. II. Chap. XXIX. I have been since informed, that on the

The period of the 14th of July was rendered the more critical, as, on pretence of supplying the camp of 20,000 men, the Jacobins, as I have already observed, had collected in Paris, under the denomination of *Federates*, men chosen generally from among the most furious members of the Clubs of the Provinces: however, the festival of the Federation was less tumultuous than had been expected, and, thanks to all the precautions taken*, it was not attended with any danger to the lives of the Royal Family. The acclamations of *Vive le Roi*, less numerous, less spirited than usual, were often drowned by the stupid vociferations of a crowd of banditti, who, not content with roaring out as loud as they could *Vive Petion, Petion or death*, had those words written with chalk in large letters on the front of their hats.† Within the

the 10th of August a band of brigands broke into the Magistrate's house, and carried away the minute left with him, and all his papers.

* See Private Memoirs, Vol. II. page 347.

† As it was not possible to get the new dresses, decreed on the 12th of July, ready for the day of the festival,

the *Champ-de-Mars*, on the side towards the river, there was placed a poplar tree rising out of a pile of wood: the tree was full of escutcheons, armorial bearings, mantles of ermine, &c.; and all its branches were loaded with coronets of the different ranks of nobility, with blue ribbons, and titles in parchment. At the top of this tree, which was called *the feudal tree*, were seen the arms of *La Fayette*. During the ceremony the pile was set on fire, amidst the huzzas of all the spectators. It was said that the King and President of the Assembly were to have lighted it, had not the immense crowd that surrounded them prevented their coming near it.

festival, the Assembly and Public Functionaries all attended in their usual clothes.

The new dresses were to be, for the Deputies, a tricoloured ribbon fixed in salteer, that is, cross-wise, to which was to be suspended a book of gilt metal, with the words *Rights of Man* on the one side, and *Constitution* on the other; the Administrators of Departments and Districts were to have the same ribbon, with a medal, having the words *Respect to the Law* engraved upon it; that to be worn by the Members of Departments was to be yellow metal, and that for the Members of Districts white.

Between *the altar of the country* and the military school stood a funeral pyramid, in honour of the citizens who had died for their country on the frontiers. On one of the sides of the pyramid was this inscription: *Tremble, tyrants! we are rising to avenge them.*

The brigands, who were called *the men of the 14th of July, or the conquerors of the Bastille*, arrived at five o'clock in the afternoon, almost all holding one another by the hand, and forming, as it were, a chain from the Bastille to the *Champ-de-Mars*. In going along, they sung the most violent patriotic songs, and carried with them a printing press, with which at every stop they made they struck off fresh copies of those songs.

The King went to the altar to take the oath, instead of taking it in his place, as he had done in the year 1790. This condescension, rendered very hazardous by the elation of the moment, and the Revolutionary delirium, was greatly applauded: the acclamations of *Vive le Roi, Vive la Reine*, were almost unanimous, on their Majesties leaving the *Champ-de-Mars*, and accompanied them from the Courts of the
Military

Military School to the Palace. The course of the Federates were less than had been expected: only 2060 had arrived, and of that number 2032 ought to have gone to the camp of Soisson; but the solemn declaration of the danger of the country had not incited more than fifty volunteers to set off for the frontiers.

These circumstances gave a little relief to the fears of a general confusion, which the violent ferment of the Capital had raised; and the good news I received a few days after, relative to the dispositions of the Emperor and the King of Prussia, revived my hopes. I thought all would yet be saved, if we could manage to counteract the plan of the factious sufficiently to prevent the execution of it, till the combined armies had entered France. The different letters which *Mallet-du-Pan* wrote to me at this period was in substance as follows:

On the 15th and 16th of July he had had long conferences with Count *Cobentzel*, Count *Haugwitz*, and M. *Heyman*, Ministers of the Emperor and King of Prussia. After examining the authority of his mission, and listening with extreme attention to the reading of his instructions, and his

memorial, they found that the views he held forth agreed perfectly with those which the King had formerly manifested to the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, who had respectively adopted them. They had in consequence placed complete confidence in him, and had approved in every point the plan for the manifesto which he had proposed to them. They had declared to him, in the most positive terms, that in the plan of the war there was no view of ambition, of personal interest, or of dismembering the kingdom; and that the Powers had no other view or interest than that of restoring order in France, because there could be no peace between that country and its neighbours, till it was delivered from the anarchy prevailing in it, and which obliged them to keep up lines of troops on all the frontiers, and to take extraordinary precautions that were very expensive; but that far from pretending to impose any form of Government whatever on the French, the King would be left entirely free to act on that point in concert with the nation. They had asked him the most circumstantial information respecting the dispositions of the interior of the kingdom, the public opinion relative to the
old

old system, the Parliaments, the Nobility, &c. They had confided to him that it was intended to form the Emigrants into an army, to be given to the King when he was set at liberty. They had spoken to him with displeasure and prejudice of the French Princes, whom they supposed to have intentions quite the reverse of the King's, particularly that of acting independently, and of appointing a Regent*. In short, after thoroughly discussing the different requests and propositions which *Mallet-du-Pan* was charged to urge, the three Ministers had unanimously acknowledged the wisdom and justice of them, had each requested a memorandum or heads of them, and had given the most positive assurances that the King's views, which were perfectly consonant with those of the Powers, should be strictly pursued.

In my answers to *Mallet-du-Pan*, I transmitted him new instructions, which the King charged me to send him relative to circumstances: and my letters contained

* *Mallet-du-Pan* strongly combated this supposition, and observed that the intentions of the Princes ought not to be taken from the light or eager language of some persons about them.

express recommendations of all the peaceable citizens, whom his Majesty desired to see not only spared, but effectually protected, both them and their property.

The Jacobins were now plotting a more decisive insurrection; and a regular plan was laid, which was to have been carried into execution on the 29th of July, but fortunately the efforts that were used to render it abortive, proved successful for the time. Convinced, however, that it was only postponed, I became more and more anxious that the King and the Royal Family should quit Paris; and after consulting M. *d'Hervey* on the military preparations, I drew up a plan for their removing with safety to the Castle of Gaillon in Normandy, his Majesty having positively declared to me that he would not go beyond the limits settled by the law*.

* An account is given of the plot of the Jacobins here alluded to, and also of my plan for the King's removal from Paris, in my Private Memoirs, Vol. III. Chap. XXX. XXXI. and XXXII.

CHAPTER XXV.

The real Danger of the Country—The Federates send a Deputation to the Assembly, with an Address—The Excess to which some of the Jacobin Deputies were carried by the Desire of annihilating Royalty—Their Fears of the Army—Mareschal Luckner's Arrival in Paris—His Letter to the Assembly—The Jacobins charge him with Contradictions—Dumourier's Letters to the Assembly in Luckner's Absence from the Army—Manœuvres to obtain a Decree of Impeachment against La Fayette—Luckner made

a Tool for that Purpose—Attempt to intimidate the King to recal Rolland, Servan, and Claviere—Formal Proclamation of the Country being in Danger—Patriotic Enrolments—Seditious Addresses to the Assembly—La Source's Motion respecting the Dangers of the Country—Decree of the Assembly, extending the Responsibility of the Ministers.

THE Assembly had proclaimed the danger of the country, and it was but too real; but it was not to the coalition of the Powers*, nor to the religious troubles, nor to the slight Royalist commotion renewed at Barres, in the Department of Ardeche †, that it

* At this period arrived the friendly but negative note of the English Court, in reply to that which M. Chauvelin, the Minister of France, had been charged to present to it, to request his Britannic Majesty to use his influence with his allies, to prevent their acceding to the coalition against France. See *Appendix*, No. XXVII.

† M. du Saillant was at the head of this Royalist insurrection; but his little army, composed of the wreck of the famous camp of Jalis, was soon routed; and he was himself taken and put to death on the 18th of July.

was

was to be attributed. It was neither the scourge of war, nor the calamities inseparable from it, that was most to be dreaded; the scourge, a thousand times more to be dreaded, of anarchy and of the despotism of the mob, which all the manœuvres, all the plots of the Jacobins against the King and against the Monarchy, tended to establish, constituted the real danger of the country. They had already succeeded in rendering the Sittings of the Legislative Body as scandalous as those of their Club, by the audacity and violence of the motions, petitions, and addresses daily introduced; and although the conduct of the King and of the Ministers was as moderate and as circumspect as it was possible to be, the Executive Power was forever the object of their declamations, and of the grossest insults.

It was thus that the factious, who were determined on a decree for suspending the King, or declaring that he had forfeited the Crown, flattered themselves to prepare the public mind for that grand crime. They attempted too to cause it to be considered as the wish of the nation. For this purpose, they kept in Paris all the Federates on whom
they

they could depend, and engaged them to send a deputation to the Bar of the Assembly with an Address, formally demanding the provisional suspension of the Executive Power in the person of the King; the discharge of the Staff officers, and persons appointed to military offices by his Majesty; the change of the Judicial Bodies; a decree for impeaching M. *de la Fayette*; and the punishment of the Directories of Departments and Districts, said to have coalesced with that General and the Court against public liberty. These demands were again and again unanimously applauded by the galleries. The *Coté-droit* broke out into violent murmurs of indignation, and several Members desired that the petitioners should be called to order. The majority of the Assembly seemed to disapprove of this Address, but that did not hinder the deputation's obtaining the honours of the Sitting; and after a short debate the Assembly passed to the order of the day.

The only resource the King had for impeding and delaying the execution of the plots formed against him, was to show himself still faithful to the oath of maintaining the Constitution, and to employ
all

all the means in his power to enforce the execution of it; because the great majority of the nation, not initiated in the secret views of the Jacobins, still adhered to that Constitution which was perpetually invoked, believing the King to be inviolable, and that it was impossible to declare his abdication, or decree his forfeiture of the Crown, except in the cases specified by the Constitutional Act*. The Royalist newspapers and pamphlets

* “ The King shall be deemed to have abdicated the
 “ Crown, if he refuses to take the oath of maintaining
 “ the Constitution, or if, after taking it, he retracts
 “ it; if he puts himself at the head of an army, and
 “ directs the forces of it against the nation, or if he
 “ does not oppose by a formal act such an undertaking car-
 “ ried on in his name; if he leaves the kingdom, and
 “ does not, on being called upon by a proclamation
 “ issued by the Legislative Body, return to France.”
*Constitutional Act, Chap. III. Sect. I. Articles V. VI.
 and VII.*

The *formal act* required of the King, under so serious a penalty, was assuredly of sufficient importance to require that the form of it should have been expressly and invariably determined, yet no mention was made of it in the Constitutional Act. I will not take upon me to say whether this silence proceeded from a shallow inadvertence, or from the deepest perfidy; but too certain it is, that by leaving so vast a field open to arbitrary interpretations, means were provided for the King's enemies
 to

pamphlets assisted to strengthen this opinion ; and to the calumnies that were propagated against the King, opposed the proofs of his scrupulous adherence to the Constitution, in every part of his conduct, and of that of his Ministers ; but the more regular and circumspect the King was in his measures, the more exasperated were the Jacobins. They would rather that he had caused some patriotic Deputy to be assassinated, for that would have furnished them with the infallible means of determining the general insurrection, which they wanted in order to ensure success to the execrable plot which

to charge with insufficiency whatever acts he might do in opposition to the hostile enterprises formed in his name against France. This *Louis XVI.* experienced on the occasion of the proclamation, which he caused to be published and notified to all the Powers, to disavow the loans, and the purchases of arms and ammunition made in his name by his brothers. *Brissot* impudently maintained in the tribune, on the 19th of July, that that proclamation, not being written and signed by the King's hand, and having been notified by the Minister, and not by the King himself, could not be considered in any view as the *formal act* prescribed by the Constitution ; and this absurd animadversion was repeated a few days after in a multitude of Addresses, petitioning that the King should be deposed.

was

was to complete the annihilation of Royalty. It would not even have been difficult, among the most furious of them, to find some outrageous fanatic, who, to render an important service to the Revolution, would not have hesitated to have had himself assassinated, provided his assassination might have been so contrived, as to be imputed to the agents of the Court. This is no vague conjecture of mine, but a fact not to be doubted, being established by the free and spontaneous testimony of the celebrated Madame *Rolland*, who is known to have been the intimate friend and confidant of the principal Members of the Club of *Jacobins* *.

The

* “ In the month of July 1792 the conduct and dispositions of the Court announcing hostile views, every one reasoned on the means of obstructing them, or rendering them abortive. *Chabot* said on this subject, with that ardour that springs from frenzy and not from strength, that it were to be wished that the Court would make an attempt upon the lives of some patriotic Deputies, which would infallibly cause an insurrection of the people, and was the only way of rousing them, and producing a salutary crisis. He grew warm on this theme, and expatiated upon it for a considerable time. *Grangeneuve* was one of a
“ small

The factious were no less tormented with apprehensions of another nature. They doubted the army, and no longer depended on the patriotism of the Generals. *M. de la Fayette*, rendered completely unpopular by

“ small company before whom this speech was made.
 “ He listened to it without saying a word at the time,
 “ but seized the first moment that offered to speak to
 “ *Chabot* privately. ‘ I was struck,’ said he, ‘ with
 “ your arguments; they are excellent, but the Court is
 “ too cunning ever to furnish us with such an expedient.
 “ It must be done for them. Find men to strike the
 “ blow, and I devote myself as the victim.’—‘ What!
 “ you will!’—‘ Certainly: what is there so difficult in
 “ it? My life is not very useful, my person is of no
 “ importance, and I shall be too happy in sacrificing it
 “ to my country.’—‘ Ah! my friend,’ cried *Chabot* with
 “ an air of inspiration, ‘ you shall not be the only one;
 “ I will share this glory with you.’—‘ Do as you will,’
 “ replied *Grangeneuve*; ‘ though one might be enough,
 “ two may do still better: but there will be no glory in
 “ this, for nobody must know any thing of it: let us
 “ then think of the means.’ *Chabot* undertook to ma-
 “ nage the affair. A few days after, he informed
 “ *Grangeneuve* that he had engaged people, and that
 “ every thing was ready. ‘ Well, then,’ said *Grange-*
 “ *neuve*, ‘ let us fix the time. We will go to the Com-
 “ mittee to-morrow night; I will leave it at half after
 “ ten o’clock, and shall pass through such a street,
 “ which is little frequented, where you must post your
 “ people; but take care they know what they are about;
 “ their

by his letter to the Assembly, and his petition, was in their eyes no longer the hero of the two worlds, the founder, the defender of liberty, of the rights of man, &c.; they saw in him only a traitor sold to the Court. Marechal *Luckner*, of whom they had so much boasted, and whose military talents and patriotism they had so much exaggerated, had dissipated all their enthusiasm by adhering to the measures of his colleague. His arrival at Paris a few days

‘ their business is to kill us at once, and not to maim us.’
“ They settled the hour, concerted the preparations,
“ and *Grangeneuve* went home and made his will, and
“ after arranging some family affairs, kept his appointment. He was first at the place; the hour arrived,
“ but no *Chabot* came. *Grangeneuve* concluded that he
“ had relinquished his share of the assassination, but
“ still supposing matters prepared for his own, he set
“ out, and took the way agreed upon, walking slowly,
“ but not a creature did he meet. Lest he should have
“ mistaken the hour, he went a second time over the
“ ground, and was at last obliged to go home safe and
“ sound, but extremely out of humour at the trouble
“ he had taken for nothing. *Chabot* averted his reproaches with wretched evasions, and did not believe the cowardice of a priest, or the hypocrisy of a
“ capuchin.” See the article of *Grangeneuve* in the
Memoirs of Madame Rolland, published under the title of
An Appeal to Impartial Posterity.

after

after *M. de la Fayette* had left it causing the Assembly to fear that he might also be come to present them a petition against the outrages of the 20th of June, in the name of his army, they hastened to take into consideration the report of the Commission of the Twelve respecting a General's right of petitioning, and decreed that the *Marschal* should come and give an account of the orders he had received, and of those he had given, relative to the operations of the campaign, and that he should present at the same time a statement of all that was necessary to ensure success to the operations in future.

Marschal Luckner, not very well satisfied with this reception, wrote to the President, that, as a General of the French army, it was only to the King as Generalissimo, and to the Minister appointed to transmit him privately his orders, that he could give the account required of him, and that it would be found in his correspondence with the Ministers, a communication of which the Assembly had demanded, and in the journals of his Staff. "All these circumstances," added he, "which are purely military, are closely connected with the
" future.

“ future operations of the campaign, re-
“ specting which, prudence and my duty
“ oblige me to be secret. It is for the Na-
“ tional Assembly to examine what in the
“ conduct of the war is entirely foreign to
“ their functions, and what the Constitu-
“ tion allows them to be informed of, by
“ inquiries made of the Minister of War,
“ who has already had the honour of
“ making known to the Assembly that I
“ came hither by an order from the King,
“ to confer with his Majesty on our system
“ of defence. As to the statement required
“ of me respecting what is necessary to
“ ensure success to the operations in future,
“ I reply that we want a great augmenta-
“ tion of forces, and that grand assemblage
“ of means which seemed to be promised
“ to us by the protestations of civic zeal
“ and martial enthusiasm often reverberated
“ in the Hall of the National Assembly ;
“ that those brilliant hopes have not yet
“ been realised, that the army is still in-
“ complete, very deficient in number, and
“ no way recruited, and that if the Assem-
“ bly lose a moment in reinforcing it, by
“ all the means that depend on them, our
PART II. VOL. III. D “ forces

“ forces will be immensely disproportioned
“ to those of our enemies.”

This answer dispelled all apprehensions on the object of the Marechal's journey; but the melancholy truths it contained, and the Constitutional lessons it gave to the Assembly, displeased them extremely. The Members of the Committee of War asserted, that the Marechal had been with them the day before, had said the very reverse to them, and that he had appeared to have no fears of the enemy. It was, indeed, in the evening that the Committees met, and, after being fortified with a good dinner, the old General feared nothing, saw every thing in a favourable light, and said all that he was desired. In like manner next day, before the Commission of the Twelve, he was led to confess that the letter which he had written to the Assembly was not his own, that he had only signed it, that it had been forced from him, &c. This new contradiction was denounced to the Assembly, and annihilated all the credit Marechal *Luckner* ever possessed with them. “ How,” it was said, “ are we to depend
“ upon a General who, whether it be owing
“ to

“ to dotage or to drunkenness, changes in
“ the morning his opinions and language
“ of the evening?”

Dumourier, to whom *Luckner* had left during his absence the command of the army, in which he already held the rank of Lieutenant-General at the head of the left wing, adroitly seized this opportunity to endeavour to catch the confidence which *La Fayette* and *Luckner* had lost, or were losing. For this purpose, he wrote the Assembly a letter, which they would no doubt have thought rather pompous, had the style of it not been made palatable by a strong dose of the most encouraging patriotic vauntings, interspersed with critical and malicious reflections, well calculated to conciliate the favour of the enemies of the two Generals and of the Ministry*. Among other hectorings in this letter was that of having, with 600 men and two pieces of cannon, defended for two whole hours, foot to foot, the little unfortified town of Orchis, which was attacked at once at three different posts by above 6,000 Austrians, with several pieces of cannon and howitzers, and of

* See *Dumourier's* letter, APPENDIX, No. XXVIII.

having made a very honourable retreat, after losing only eight men and one cannon, while the Austrians had left twenty dead, and carried off eleven waggons of wounded. What success might not be hoped from so brilliant an outset? And how was it possible to do otherwise than place great confidence in a General who with 600 men had nearly beaten 6,000?

Dumourier, pretending to be still ignorant that there was a War Minister*, wrote the next day a second letter to the Assembly in the same style as the first; and annexed to it the copy of a letter he was writing to *M. de la Fayette*, and a long memorial on the critical position in which he found himself; on the dangers of the plan of the campaign, as it was carrying on; on the changes necessary to be made in it, &c. He wrote at the same time to the King, on whom the cognizance of all those matters had, by the Constitution, exclusively devolved, and sent him copies of the same

* The letter by which the King informed the Assembly that the Ministers who had given in their resignation would continue their functions until his Majesty appointed their successors, had appeared in all the public papers.

papers.

papers. This then should have been the only letter written by *Dumourier* on this occasion, had he meant only to perform his duty ; but that which he wrote to the Assembly was, even by its irregularity, infinitely more useful to his views. It was, in fact, only raising himself *to the height of things (a la hauteur des circonstances)*, and anticipating an event very near at hand, to regard the Assembly as already invested with the Executive Power, which it was evidently their intention to usurp. They were pleased with *Dumourier* for his homage unconstitutional as it was, and, in spite of the forcible remonstrances of some Members of the *Coté-droit*, they referred his letter, not to the Executive Power, as they ought to have done, but to the Military Committee.

The enemies of *M. de la Fayette*, powerfully re-inforced by their coalition with *Dumourier's* partizans, became doubly inveterate against him ; and although his conduct had been fully justified by the report of the Commission of the Twelve, they did not despair of obtaining against him a decree of impeachment, for which the most insolent petitions were daily presented at the

Bar of the Assembly. This miserable farce, so often played by the Jacobins, was too well known and too much worn out to produce of itself a decisive effect; recourse was therefore had to other manœuvres. The principal Members of the Gironde party* being one day together at the house of their worthy friend the Abbé *Gobet*, the Constitutional Bishop of Paris, with Marschal *Luckner*, egged him on to speak a great deal—it was after dinner—and pretended that he had owned to them that *M. de la Fayette* had proposed to him to march their armies to Paris. The next day one of the (*La Source*) denounced this avowal to the Assembly in the debate on the report of the Commission of the Twelve relative to *M. de la Fayette*. “In short, it is a fact,” said he; “I scarcely dared to write it, the
 “very letters I formed seemed all blood.
 “The bandage must now fall from the eyes
 “of every candid man who yet remains,
 “what I myself was, the dupe of the most
 “odious of traitors, the admirer of the vilest
 “of men. Will you be able to refrain

* *Brissot, Guadet, Delmas, Genfonné, La Marque, La Source, and Herault de Sechelles,*

“ from

“ from shuddering with horror? *La Fayette*
 “ attempted to march the troops towards
 “ Paris, and to engage the noble *Luckner*,
 “ who was not to be seduced, to join in that
 “ act of villany and high treason. The pro-
 “ posal was made to *Luckner* through M.
 “ *Bureau de Puzy*. I here appeal to the
 “ testimony of six of my colleagues, to
 “ whom this execrable project was revealed
 “ at the same time it was to me.” Upon
 this *Guadet* declared, “ that having asked
 “ the Mareschal whether it was true that
 “ it had been proposed to him to march to
 “ Paris after the events of the 20th of June,
 “ the answer he made was so remarkable,
 “ that he (*Guadet*) had thought it right
 “ to commit it to paper, and he would read
 “ it.” It was as follows: *I do not deny it: it was M. Bureau de Puzy, who I believe was thrice President of the National Assembly. I answered him—I will march only against the enemy from without; La Fayette may do as he pleases; but if he marches against Paris I will march against him, and I will drub him.*

It was difficult to doubt that this answer was exactly reported: it seemed to have been taken from the Mareschal's mouth.

It was written in his broken French ; and besides, the paper, which was deposited on the table, was signed by *Guadet*, and all the other Members who were present at the conversation, except *Herault de Sechelles*. So serious was the charge resulting from this against M. *de la Fayette*, that his enemies thought themselves sure of obtaining a decree of impeachment ; and the more so, as at the same moment the Assembly were informed that the alarm bell was ringing in the Parish of St. Rock, and that a great concourse of citizens were coming towards the Thuilleries, on the pretence of the Members of the Assembly being in danger. It is more than probable that this popular commotion happening so precisely at the time that M. *de la Fayette* was denounced as guilty of high treason, had been raised by the Jacobins in order to intimidate and weaken that General's party. However that was, the debate was interrupted to attend to *Petion*, who, having by the omnipotence of his influence over the populace, prevailed upon them not to enter the Thuilleries, came to give an account of it to the Legislative Body, and to dispel their alarms. The Assembly, after testifying by their applause

plause how much they were satisfied with the respect of the citizens for the law, and the Mayor's zeal to maintain it, resumed the debate, and decreed, by a great majority, that it should be adjourned till after an inquiry into the fact denounced by *Guadet* and the other Deputies, who, as well as he had attested by their signatures the exactness of the reply said to have been made by Mareschal *Luckner*.

M. de la Fayette was much indebted on this occasion to the eloquence and courage with which he was defended by the worthy *Dumoulard*, who, in spite of the murmurs, hootings, and vociferations by which he was every instant interrupted, victoriously refuted all the censures cast on *M. de la Fayette*, and exposed the manœuvres of his slanderers with the real causes of their inveteracy against him*.

The faction who were determined on the ruin of *M. de la Fayette* had also determined on filling up the places of the Ministers whom they had reduced, by means of

* I never was personally acquainted with *M. Dumoulard*, but from his conduct in this Assembly, and the principles he always professed, I considered him as one of the most estimable Members of the *Coté-droit*.

persecution

persecutions and outrages, to the necessity of resigning, on the grounds of their thinking that they could no longer be of use to the common-weal. The King, in accepting their resignation, had desired them to continue their functions till he had appointed their successors; but that appointment was delayed from day to day, from the extreme difficulty of finding worthy men both able and willing to undertake those offices. The factious, impatient at the delay, succeeded in obtaining a decree on the 21st of July, ordering, “ that it should be declared to the King that the safety of the country loudly called upon him to form a Ministry, and that it could not be deferred without an inconceivable increase of the dangers which threatened liberty and the Constitution.” They flattered themselves that this decree would throw the King into an embarrassment which might induce him to recal *Rolland*, *Servan*, and *Claviere*; and three of the chief members of the Gironde party had even the impudence to propose this measure to him as the only one that could shield his Majesty from the dangers that menaced him*. The

* For further proofs of this conspiracy respecting the impending insurrection, See Private Memoirs, Vol. III. page 25 to 38.

proposal,

propofal, however, had no effect, and the Ministry was foon after formed*.

The King having fanced the decree which declared the country in danger, it was proclaimed in the Capital with all the form and ceremony fited to make a great impreffion. On the 22d of July, by fix o'clock in the morning, it was announced by three difcharges of the alarm guns of the park of artillery, of the *Pont-neuf*, and of the Arfenal, which were repeated every hour till feven o'clock at night. At ten in the morning, twelve Municipal officers in their fcarfs, feveral *Notables* and four ferjeants, paraded out of the *Hotel-de-Ville* into the *Place-de-Greve*, where they found waiting fix legions of the National Guard with their colours, drums, and mufic, and detachments of horfe with their

* On the 21ft of July, M. *de Monciel*, Minifter of the Interior, and M. *de Lacofte*, Minifter of the Marine, were fucceeded, the former by M. *de Champion*, and the latter by M. *du Bouchage*. On the 23d, M. *de Lajard* was fucceeded by M. *Dabancourt* in the War Department. On the 30th *Le Roux de Laville* was appointed to the Department of the Finances in the place of M. *de Beaulieu*; and on the 1ft of Auguft, the Department for Foreign Affairs, which was held by M. *Chambonas*, was entrusted to M. *Bigot de St. Croix*.

trumpets,

trumpets and several pieces of cannon. These troops were divided into two bodies, headed by six Municipal Officers on horseback, and a proportionate number of *Notables*, preceded by a National guard on horseback, carrying a large tri-coloured banner, on which appeared the words, *Citizens! the country is in danger*. On either side of this banner rode four serjeants on horseback, each carrying an ensign loaded with civic crowns, and on which were the words, *Liberty, Equality, Constitution, Country*; and below these, *Publicity, Responsibility*. In this order the two trains set out from the *Place-de-Greve* in different directions, to go and proclaim in all the quarters of the town the Act declaring *the country in danger*. It was read by a Municipal Officer, after a signal for silence given by a roll of the drums. During the march the bands played only grand and solemn movements, suitable to the occasion.

In the chief public places large amphitheatres were raised, terminating with tents ornamented with tri-coloured streamers, wreaths of oak leaves, and civic crowns. On each side of the tents was a pike, on which was a red cap. In front of the amphitheatre,

phitheatre, a board placed on two drumheads served as a desk for inscribing the names of the citizens who were disposed to march to the frontiers, and their certificates of enrolment were immediately delivered to them. All who offered themselves were admitted without any objection as to age, size, or trade. These patriotic enrolments continued for nearly a week. Every evening the Municipal Officer was seen exhausted with heat and fatigue, going from the amphitheatre, with his register under his arm, to the *Hotel de Ville*, accompanied with his *enfants de la patrie*, children of the country, his harvest of the day, a grotesque phalanx that marched the day following for the frontiers, or the camp at Soissons. *Let us go for glory*, was their song all the way. In this manner went off some thousands*: scarcely one in a hundred ever returned.

Some of these miserable *citizen soldiers*, who two days before were seen in the streets receiving charity, or cleaning shoes, deeming themselves, no doubt, rendered sufficiently illustrious by their enrolment to figure at the Bar of the Assembly, presented

* About 15,000

themselves

themselves there at the moment of their departure, and demanded, *in the name of the country which they were going to save*, the deposition of the Executive Power, or that at least no order should be issued directly from it, till previously communicated to the Legislative Body. The Assembly, applauded their zeal, and granted them the honours of the Sitting. They had some minutes before given the same reception to a band of Federates, who calling themselves the organs of a very great majority of the citizens of the 83 Departments, had come to make the same demand which had entered into the heads of some of their comrades. “Determine,” said they in their insolent harangue, “determine, in this very Sitting, “on the only means of redressing our grievances; suspend the Executive Power. “The Constitution authorises you to try “him: now you cannot do that without “having the right of suspending him. “Convoke the primary Assemblies, in order to know, in a direct and certain manner, the will of the nation. Cause a “National Convention to be appointed, to “decide on certain articles said to be Constitutional. There is not a moment to be “lost.

“ lost. Have a care of drawing upon your-
“ selves a terrible responsibility. If you
“ give the nation a proof of inability, they
“ will have but one resource remaining,
“ that of putting forth their whole strength,
“ and crushing their enemies themselves.”

In vain did the Members of the *Coté-droit* express their indignation, and move for censures on these unconstitutional petitions, which followed one after another at every Sitting, supported by a great number of signatures; they were always applauded by the majority of the Assembly, and referred to the Commission of the Twelve, to be employed when wanted, to prove the general wish of the nation. The deposition of the King was certainly the wish of all the Jacobin Clubs, and consequently that of all those furious demagogues, who everywhere exciting and directing at their will all the motions of a part of the people, or rather of the populace, thought in their frenzy that they constituted the whole nation, except the Aristocrats, whom they considered as its enemies.

What then had the King done at this period to draw upon himself such violent animosity, and what new charge could be
justly

justly made against him? Not any; no, not any: and I vouch this important truth without any apprehension of being contradicted. I shall not here make a loathsome display of the disgusting motions and petitions with which the tribune and Bar of the Assembly daily rung; I shall only observe, that not a single one can be mentioned, containing a fact which justly merited reproach: they were nothing more than indecent declamations, conjectures, suspicions, and vague censures, absurd on the very face of them, or destitute of every kind of proof. The complaints perpetually renewed of the pretended negligence of the Executive Power, in completing the army, providing the garisons, arming the National Volunteers, &c. were all foreign to the King, and only concerned the Ministers who were responsible for it. It will be readily believed, that if there had been the slightest grounds against them, they would have been impeached. The declamations and censures so often repeated, on account of his Majesty's refusal to sanction the two decrees relative to the nonjuring priests, and the formation of a camp of 20,000 men, were evidently unconstitutional and groundless. In fact, for
six

six weeks no new denunciation of religious disturbances had been made to the Assembly; they had all been prevented by the strict execution of the existing laws: and as for the camp, it was generally acknowledged that the one formed at Soissons, by the King's order, was much more advantageously situated to protect the Capital, and re-inforce our armies in case of necessity, than that would have been which the Assembly wished to have stationed in the neighbourhood of Paris. The country had been declared in danger by a decree passed on the 11th of July, after several days' deliberation, and proclaimed with the most striking solemnity: but supposing that danger really to have existed, the Assembly were the less warranted to accuse the King of it, as twelve days after they had passed that famous decree, they were completely ignorant what the dangers they had proclaimed consisted of. This very remarkable fact is certainly established beyond dispute by the unanimity with which they adopted, in the Sitting of the 23d of July, the motion made in the following words by *La Source*, one of the most violent Members of the Gironde faction:

PART II. VOL. III.

E

" I move

“ I move that you refer to the Commis-
 “ sion of the Twelve the question couched
 “ in terms so precise, that they cannot wan-
 “ der from it in their Report; and the form
 “ I propose to you is this: “ *What are the*
 “ *dangers of the country? What are the*
 “ *causes of those dangers? Are the mea-*
 “ *sures hitherto employed sufficient? Is it*
 “ *necessary to employ extraordinary ones?*
 “ *What are they*?*

The only fault then that *Louis XVI.*
 could have at this time in the eyes of the
 factious, was his retaining the title of *King*
 in a Government no longer Monarchical,
 and remaining faithful to a Constitution
 which they no longer wished to have. They
 accused, insulted, and degraded his Majesty,

* The Commission answered the two last questions
 the very next day, by proposing to the Assembly to de-
 cree that all the National guards of the kingdom, at the
 rate of one-sixth of the active citizens of each Depart-
 ment, should be at the call of the Generals, and it was
 so decreed. Some Members of the *Coté-gauche* insisted
 on immediately opening the debate with the question,
 whether the King had incurred a forfeiture; but the
 Reporter showed the danger of being too precipitate in
 the inquiry into measures that called forth a reasonable
 fear of treasons, and the Assembly passed to the order of
 the day.

in

in order to colour their execrable plots with some pretext, some appearance of justice, to accelerate the execution, and ensure the success of them, by rendering the people accomplices. Their manœuvres, which I watched with all possible vigilance, became daily more alarming. I was informed that a clandestine meeting had been held at Charonton, composed of the most violent Revolutionists in the Assembly, and of the Jacobins; that the projected insurrection was ultimately fixed for the 9th or 10th of August; that after having plundered the Palace, and forced the King to take refuge in the Assembly, the populace were to demand his deposition in so peremptory a style that the Assembly would not dare to refuse.

The chiefs of the Gironde faction, who had planned the insurrection, did not at that time intend to overturn the Monarchy; their design was to dethrone the King, make the Crown pass to his son, and establish a Council of Regency, which they would have composed of their creatures, over whom they would always have had sufficient influence to obtain whatever money or employments they demanded. But as

they knew that it is easier to excite a violent insurrection, than to moderate it, or prescribe its bounds, so as to obtain the precise object they had in view, they were inclined to relinquish their plan, on condition that the King would agree to recal the three Ministers, who were too much devoted to them to have refused them any thing; which was the inducement of their proposal to his Majesty.

The King's refusal having rendered this project abortive, the Girondists formed that of assuming indirectly the appointment of the Ministers, by arbitrarily augmenting their responsibility, and by rendering it conjoint and unlimited. They therefore proposed the following decree, which was passed by a great majority after a long debate:

“ The National Assembly considering that
 “ it is the most sacred of their duties to use
 “ all the means which the Constitution has
 “ given them, to prevent or speedily terminate the danger of the country; considering that nothing can contribute more
 “ effectually to the attainment of this important object, than to give to the responsibility of the Ministers, and public or
 “ private

“ private Counsellors of the Executive
“ Power all the latitude which the safety of
“ the State requires in such circumstances,
“ declare, that when the Legislative Body
“ has proclaimed, in the forms prescribed
“ by the decree of the 5th of this month,
“ that the country is in danger, independ-
“ ently of the cases in which the agents of
“ the Executive Power are usually respon-
“ sible, all the Ministers are conjointly
“ responsible, as well for the acts resolved
“ upon in the Council, relative to the inte-
“ rior and exterior safety of the State, that
“ should have caused the danger, as for
“ neglecting the measures which ought to
“ have been taken to stop the progress of
“ it; which joint responsibility shall take
“ place equally against all the Ministers
“ after the proclamation, and while it con-
“ tinues unrevoked: Declare, in like man-
“ ner, that in case of the said proclamation,
“ the Counsellors of the King, whoever
“ they may be, are personally responsible
“ for the present misfortunes, and for all
“ those that may be the consequence of
“ them.”

Notwithstanding this decree, the King
still found some worthy men so bold, so

devoted to his person, as to accept the vacant places in the Ministry ; but at this dreadful moment, of what use could Ministers the most faithful, the most able, be to his Majesty? Alas ! there was but one service they could render him, and that was to prevail upon him, by their counsels, to leave Paris.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Rapid Progress of Sedition—Insurrections in the Fauxbourgs to go and take away the Arms reported to be collected at the Palace—Increase of Emigration—Measures taken against it—Address from the Assembly to the King drawn up by Guadet—Brissot's Motion for inquiring what Acts are a Forfeiture of the Crown—The Populace admitted to the Terrace of the Feuillans by the Assembly—M. Despreminil attacked—Manœuvres in the Garden of the Thuilleries—The King determines to quit Paris—Arrival of

another Body of Marseillois—Their Encounter with some of the National Guard in the Champs-Elizées—Conduct of the Assembly on the Occasion—M. de la Fayette exculpated to the Assembly—Mareschal Luckner denies the Assertions attributed to him—La Fayette's Letter on the Occasion—The Duke of Brunswick's Manifesto—His additional Declaration respecting the Persons of the King and Royal Family—Declaration of the French Princes—Decree in Favour of foreign Deserters residing in France.

SEVERAL days had passed since I sent my plan to the King relative to the departure of himself and the Royal Family for Gailon; and notwithstanding my entreaties, so often repeated, I had yet received no definitive reply from his Majesty, who always gave me to understand that he was considering it, and that he would inform me of his intentions*.

The

* For a full account of this plan I have already referred to the Private Memoirs. It was at this time that Field Mareschal *Lefort* was sent to Normandy, preparatory

The King's want of decision on the means of safety which we proposed to him, was the more vexatious, as the symptoms of the crisis that threatened him were increasing with a most alarming rapidity. The petitions and addresses demanding his deposition became daily more numerous and more imperious, and were even in a manner a general title of admission to the Sittings of the Assembly, who never failed granting that honour to all who presented them such petitions. But one of their most fatal Revolutionary measures was the decree which, under pretence of the danger of the country, made the Assemblies of the Sections permanent in the Capital*, and by that established so many focuses of insurrection and rebellion.

The suspicions, alarms, and agitation of the Parisians were kept up by the absurd reports which were perpetually spread, some-

paratory to the execution of it. See Vol. III. p. 22. The necessity for the King's departure was so generally felt, that several plans of escape were sent to his Majesty; one was from Madame de Stael. See my Private Memoirs, Vol. III. page 57.

* This decree was passed on the 25th of July, in the Evening Sitting.

times

times on the supposed flight of the King and Royal Family, sometimes on the pretended collection of arms and ammunition concealed at the Thuilleries. The Minister of the Interior wrote to the Mayor, on this occasion, on the 26th of July, at one o'clock in the morning, requiring him, on the part of the King, to come or send two Municipal Officers to the Palace to search it; but the Municipal Body, assembled on this requisition, insolently resolved that there was no grounds to determine upon, *inasmuch as the King should previously cause a declaration to be made to the Committee of the Section, as well for himself as for all persons residing in the Palace of the Thuilleries, of the arms in the possession of each of them.* At three o'clock in the morning the Mayor was obliged to repair to the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, where a mob was collected with the design of going to take away the arms which were said to be at the Palace; nor could he disperse them but by making them acquainted with the letter of the Minister, and the Resolution of the Municipality. He then went to the Fauxbourg St. Marceau, where the workmen were assembling at the ringing of the alarm bell,

bell, and at the beating of the drums, and restored peace there *till further orders*; for there was not one of those seditious commotions but what was commanded; and the Jacobins accused the Royalists of them as impudently as they had accused the Aristocrats of burning their own country houses.

The continuance and enormity of these disorders determined a great many worthy people to remove from the Capital, and even to quit the kingdom. The Municipality, alarmed at the number of passports daily given out, chiefly for England, considered this emigration, which was dictated by prudence, as a base desertion of the country in the moment of danger; and resolved, in consequence, unanimously, that an Address should be presented to the Assembly, demanding, 1st, that while the country remained in danger, all citizens, except merchants *publicly known*, should be prohibited from leaving the kingdom: 2dly, that the Municipality of Paris should be authorized to establish among themselves a Committee of Inspection, with powers necessary to counteract effectually, in these times of danger, the plots of the ill disposed: 3dly, that the property of Emigrants should

should be confiscated and put up to sale as National property*.

At the time that the Municipality entered into this Resolution, the National Assembly, still deliberating on the dangers of the country, and not yet daring to come to a determination on the petitions relative to the deposition of the King, voted him an address very well suited to serve as a preamble for such a decree, and to prepare the minds of the people for it. This Address, drawn up by the Girondist *Guadet*, was as follows :

“ Sire, the French nation have confided
 “ to you the care of defending them; yet
 “ the officers of our armies have fled to the
 “ foreign Powers, and joining your rela-
 “ tions, your courtiers, your guards, are
 “ forming an army, and have declared war
 “ against us. The Constitution has charged
 “ you to watch over the exterior interests
 “ of the nation, yet the ally for whom we
 “ have lavished our blood and treasure, is
 “ become our enemy; and it is in your

* The last of these demands was decreed unanimously in the Sitting of the 27th of July, and the prohibition of delivering passports for going out of the kingdom, was decreed in the following Sitting.

“ name

“ name that he has raised against us a league
“ of Kings, hostile to that liberty which
“ you have sworn to maintain, and pro-
“ tectors of an authority which you have so
“ often solemnly renounced.

“ The French people see their frontiers
“ invaded, their lands threatened; their
“ blood has been spilt by the weapons of
“ the soldiers of despotism. From one end
“ of the kingdom to the other, priests, no-
“ bles, factious men of every kind disturb
“ the tranquillity of the citizens, and all
“ of them glory in the title of your defend-
“ ers. By what fatality, Sire, is it that
“ our enemies are only men who pretend
“ to serve you? By what fatality are we
“ obliged to doubt whether those enemies
“ of France are serving or betraying you?

“ In this moment of danger you might
“ have done much, you might have done
“ every thing for the safety of the Empire.
“ A vigilant and firm Minister, worthy of
“ the confidence of the people, supported
“ by that of their Representatives, and sure
“ of yours, would soon have restored order
“ in the armies, and peace in the Depart-
“ ments; yet France must have seen with
“ astonishment Ministers, with whose pa-
“ triotism

“ triotism she was acquainted, suddenly
 “ superseded by men unknown or suspected,
 “ and those again soon succeeded by others
 “ no less unknown. Some of them, no
 “ doubt, may be worthy of their office;
 “ but can we expect at present that they
 “ can have time to obtain the confidence of
 “ the people? And why have all those who
 “ were known to have merited it before,
 “ all whose names would have instilled
 “ security and hope into the souls of the
 “ citizens, been carefully removed or neg-
 “ lected?

“ You complain, Sire, of the distrust of
 “ the people, but what have you done to
 “ remove it? Your Palace is filled with
 “ the families of the rebels at Coblenz;
 “ the known enemies of the equality of the
 “ Constitution compose your Court; and it
 “ would be in vain to look near you for a
 “ man who had been useful to the cause of
 “ liberty, or who had not betrayed it.

“ Do you wish, Sire, to recover the con-
 “ fidence of the citizens? You have only
 “ to set them an example of it. *Let the*
 “ *residence of the King of a free nation*
 “ *no longer wear the appearance of a for-*
 “ *trefts threatened by an enemy; and let*
 “ *those*

“ those injurious precautions cease at
 “ length to calumniate a generous and suf-
 “ ceptible people*. Their dissatisfaction is
 “ sometimes expressed with violence, and
 “ that agonizing cry of a people who think
 “ themselves betrayed, is represented to you
 “ as the work of a faction! The indigna-
 “ tion of free men, who thought that they
 “ saw in the state of our armies, in the
 “ choice of your Ministers, and in your
 “ refusal to adopt necessary measures, the
 “ culpable intention of modifying that Con-
 “ stitution, and humbling before foreign
 “ Kings the Throne on which the nation
 “ has placed you, is painted to you as a
 “ project formed for overturning that
 “ Throne! Sire, the real enemies of the
 “ Constitution are those who, by an ill-
 “ directed or perfidious use of the powers
 “ they have received from it, labour to
 “ prove that it cannot save the country.
 “ But all divisions are about to cease.
 “ When an Empire is threatened by foreign
 “ armies, and attempts are made to change

* It was only a fortnight before the insurrection of the 10th of August that this advice, even more perfidious than insolent, was addressed to *Louis XVI.*

“ its

“ its laws by force, there exists but one
“ necessity, one duty, that of repelling the
“ enemy. All difference of party or opinion
“ must be suspended, and there remain
“ but two classes of men; citizens, and
“ traitors.

“ All your interests, Sire, are united to
“ those of the country; all connivance, all
“ weakness, even were it attended with that
“ success which, though impossible, base
“ conspirators dare to promise you, would
“ be to you the greatest of misfortunes.
“ Nations that have pardoned every thing
“ else have never been known to pardon the
“ crime of degrading them under a foreign
“ yoke; and what authority can be a com-
“ pensation to him who condemns himself
“ to the lasting hatred of his country, and
“ the contempt of the rest of the world?

“ The Constitution, Sire, imposes on
“ the King of the French the duty of re-
“ pelling with more energy the enemy,
“ who, falsely assuming the name of the
“ King, should add the crime of treachery
“ to that of unjust aggression. It has im-
“ posed upon him the obligation of mani-
“ festing his opposition by a formal act:
“ but if a King of the French, far from
“ contradicting

“ contradicting the first impostures, should
“ allow them long to gain credit and spread;
“ if he should give weight by public acts
“ to the pretexts employed to support those
“ impostures; if the language of his Mi-
“ nisters should be too often similar to that
“ of the enemies of the nation; if delay
“ in preparations of defence; if negligence
“ in informing the Representatives of the na-
“ tion of its danger while there was yet time
“ to avert it, and while it was easier to
“ repel it; in a word, if a complete system
“ of conduct is in direct opposition to that
“ formal act, could a simple signature, con-
“ tradicted by actions, be an accomplish-
“ ment of the law, or must it not rather be
“ considered as an additional treachery?

“ Such, Sire, are the truths which the
“ Representatives of the French nation can
“ no longer hide from you without a crime.
“ You may yet save the country and your
“ Crown with it: dare, at length, to de-
“ termine upon it; let the names of your
“ Ministers, let the sight of men who are
“ about you inspire public confidence! Let
“ all your own actions, and the energy and
“ activity of your Council, testify that the
“ nation, its Representatives, and you, have
PART II. VOL. III. F “ but

“ but one will, one desire—that of the
“ public safety.

“ The nation is no doubt able to defend
“ itself, and to preserve its liberty; but re-
“ quests you once more, Sire, to unite
“ with it to defend the Constitution and the
“ Throne.”

Brissot, considering this address as a necessary preliminary to the important measures which might become indispensable, supported it in a long speech, in which he combated the opinion of those over-vehement patriots who lost all by too much precipitation, and called upon the Assembly to guard the discussion on the deposition with such precautions, that, if it were decided upon, the whole nation might give their assent to it. He did not conceal that such a decision, if not rested on positive facts, and dictated by wisdom on the maturest reflection, would disgrace the Legislative Body, produce a civil war, and open to the foreign armies the gates of France deprived of a great number of her defenders. He concluded with moving that the Commission of the Twelve should be charged, 1st, to inquire what were the acts that induce a forfeiture of the Crown, and whether the
King

King had been guilty of them; 2dly, to propose a plan for an address to the people, to warn them against the unconstitutional and impolitic measures that might be proposed to them.

His speech was greatly applauded by the Assembly, and the motion almost unanimously adopted, notwithstanding the murmurs and hootings of the people in the galleries, who, in their foolish transports, cared very little whether the deposition were just or unjust, advantageous or injurious, provided it was but determined.

The Gironde party were so interested in the recall of *Rolland*, *Servan*, and *Claviere*, that, notwithstanding the unsuccessful issue of the private demand they had made of it to the King, they dared to bring it forward again almost in the same terms, and in a style still more menacing, in the address I have just reported.

With respect to the precautions taken for the security of the Palace, which the Assembly pretended were insults *to a generous and susceptible people*, the fact was, that after the outrages of the 20th of June, the King had thought proper to have the Tuilleries kept shut, to prevent the Palace being

broken into through the garden a second time, and that he might no longer hear the gross insults which this *good people* daily poured forth under the windows of the Royal Family. This step, as lawful as prudent, being likely to obstruct the future attempts projected against the Palace, was considered and proclaimed by the Jacobins as a shocking act of tyranny, as a blow aimed at the sovereignty of the people, and at the rights of the Legislative Body. These regicide clamours were published by all the Revolutionary Journalists, and repeated by the workmen of the Fauxbourgs, by the *Palais-Royal* groups, and in the Assembly, who, to satisfy the factious, made use of the unlimited right which the Constitution had given them of fixing the outer bounds of the place of their Sittings, and of exercising a jurisdiction to that extent. They, in consequence, decreed that the part of the garden of the Thuilleries called *the Terrace of the Feuillans*, immediately contiguous, from one end to the other, to the place of their Sittings, formed a part of their bounds.

This decree, which was passed on the 26th of July, opened the Terrace of the *Feuillans* to

to the people, and obliged the King to order a file of grenadiers to be posted along it, to prevent people from coming into the garden. The very next day the populace, exasperated at this barrier, quarrelled with the guards, and reproached them in the most abusive language. M. *Despremenil* being known in the crowd in the passage of the Feuillans, was seized by the collar. He attempted to speak, but was immediately assailed by the Federates and Brigands with their sabres, sticks, and fists at once. His coat, waist-coat, and shirt were torn to pieces: wounded, bruised, covered with blood from head to foot, he was dragged away to the *Palais-Royal*, where the wretches were going to put an end to him, when the National Guard came up, rescued him from the assassins, and carried him to the Hotel of the National Treasury, where he remained a great part of the night. *Petion*, his old colleague in the First Assembly, went to him as head of the Municipality to inquire for him. M. *Despremenil* thanked him for his attention, and made use of these remarkable words to him: "I too, M. *Petion*, like you, have been carried in triumph by the people, yet you see how

F 3

" they

“ they have used me : fear the like fate for
“ yourself.”

The Assembly, on being informed of this outrage, and solicited by the National Guard to revoke the decree which had opened the Terrace of the Feuillans to the people, and which rendered it impossible to keep them out of the garden of the Thuilleries, were not content with refusing this request, but decreed that the Committee of the Domains should, in three days, make a report to them on the question whether the enjoyment of the garden of the Thuilleries belonged exclusively to the First Public Functionary. The manner in which this question was put announced beforehand how it would be resolved. The King anticipated it, by withdrawing the Guard which had been placed the day before on the Terrace of the Feuillans, so that no obstacle whatever remained to the people's going into the garden ; but the factious, at whose pleasure their desires, their opinions, and all the Revolutionary acts were directed, thought it more useful to their own views to restrict them to the Terrace, and this they accomplished by the following manœuvre. A considerable number of their orators, dressed as *Sans-culottes*, spread

spread among the crowd, harangued the people, and represented to them that it did not become their dignity to walk in the garden by permission of those whose arbitrary will had so long deprived them of that pleasure; that they ought to wait on this occasion for the decision the Legislative Body were about to make, and in the meantime to confine themselves to the Terrace, the liberty of which had been decreed; that the rest of the garden was the land of Coblenz, where only Emigrants, conspirators, or Court valets were to be seen, &c. These harangues, a line traced on the ground at the two extremities of the Terrace, and tricoloured ribbons tied across all the passages, with the devise of *Ne plus ultra* suspended to them, sufficed to keep on the Terrace the immense populace that crowded it, while the rest of the garden was deserted.

This patriotic farce was repeated for some days, and was celebrated with great force by all the Revolutionary Journalists, as *a most striking proof of the amiable amenity, of the intelligent and delicate good-humour of that good people when left to themselves, and following only their own propensities.* People less enthusiastic, on the contrary,

saw in this rapid transition from the ferocity of the tiger to the most infantine docility, a complete proof of the absolute fervility of the people to the will of the factious. These were nearly the words used by the King on the occasion, in his answer on the evening of the 28th of July to the letter which I had written to him the day before, and in which I told him, that I was waiting his orders for M. *Lefort's* departure; that I had collected 400,000 livres of the 600,000 which I had undertaken to procure, and that I was to receive the remainder in the course of the day. To these two points his Majesty wrote on the margin the following replies :

“ You may send off M. *Lefort.*”

“ I will send you to-morrow by M. *de Monciel* my note, or my acknowledgment for 600,000 livres, with blanks, which you will fill up for the interest, according to the conditions on which that sum is lent to me.”

M. *de Monciel* accordingly gave me the next morning a note for 600,000 livres, dated the 29th of July. He had another for a million for M. *de Montmorin*, who was to receive that sum from M. *du Chatelet.*

I received

I received a letter from the King on the same day, by which all my fears of his irresolution were completely removed. His Majesty, convinced of the necessity of his departure, and of the danger of delaying it, ordered me to pay in future daily the private expences with which *Buob* the Justice was commissioned, and even to pay beforehand weekly those of which the amount was fixed. I was also charged to give *Mallet-du-Pan* some instructions on the occasion, and to recommend it to him to return as soon as possible to Frankfort, which he had left on the 20th of July without informing me of it, considering his mission as entirely at an end by the acquiescence of the Powers in all the King's views, and by their adoption of the manifesto he had been charged to propose to them. He had so fully justified the King's confidence in him by the wisdom and success of his negotiation, that his Majesty authorized me to testify to him how much he was satisfied with it, and to tell him that he wished to have no other negotiator with the Powers*.

At

* *Mallet-du-Pan* received my letter on this occasion at Geneva at the moment when the Austrian and Prussian armies

At this critical and tumultuous juncture, a new body of Marseillois, amounting to about 500 banditti, all of them most ill-looking fellows, arrived at Paris. They were received with the most lively transports of joy by the workmen of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, at the *Champs-Elizées*, where a fraternal repast had been prepared for them. It accidentally happened on the same day that some grenadiers of the National Guard, Swiss non-commissioned officers, and several persons belonging to the Palace, were dining at the very time at the same house, and in the adjoining room. At the conclusion of their meal, repeated shouts of *Vive la nation! Long live the Federates! Long live our brave Marseillois brothers!* were reverberated from the room where the Marseillois were dining with their new friends. On some of the National grenadiers being seen through the windows, they were renewed with still greater vehemence. The air of bravado and of insult with which the words were addressed to the grenadiers armies were on their march, and just when the Duke of *Brunswick's* manifesto, so different from that proposed by him, was published; circumstances that induced him to consider his return into Germany as useless.

irritated

irritated them, and they shouted in turn *Vive le Roi!* The people, exasperated by this kind of challenge, answered it by throwing stones. An immense crowd very soon surrounded the house, threatening to force it in order to take vengeance. The grenadiers seeing the number and fury of the assailants increasing every moment, determined to make their way out sword in hand. A lieutenant of the battalion of the *Petits Peres* who was with them determined unfortunately to make use of his pistols, and was killed upon the spot. On this, the Marseillois, armed with swords and sticks, joining the populace, disarmed and knocked down all the grenadiers and Swiss officers they could catch. They then returned to the quarters which had been prepared for them, stopping and insulting on their way every person who had not a woolen cockade. They violently tore off all silk ones, and threw the hats in which they were found into the crowd that was following them, who applauded with shouts of *Bravo*, these patriotic brutalities*. The Assembly, to whom they

* They seized one or two of the Bourgeois who attempted to resist their insults, declared them Aristocrats, and

they were denounced, decided, that as the decree relative to cockades had fixed only the colours, every one was at liberty to wear them of any kind of stuff, provided they were of the three colours declared National, and the Mayor of Paris was charged to attend to the execution of that law.

The Assembly were much more indulgent in respect to the excesses committed by the Marseillois in the *Champs-Elizées*. The deputations of the National Guard, who came to demand satisfaction for them, and to solicit that those brigands should be sent away, were grossly insulted by hootings, contradictions, and bursts of laughter from

and led them away to the Square at the Bastille, announcing that they were going to make a great example of them; and it is probable they would have been hanged, if one of the spectators had not proposed a commutation of their punishment. I saw this troop of furies half-drunk march along the Boulevard: five and twenty horsemen sword in hand would have dispersed and routed them in the twinkling of an eye. Stupor and fright were painted on the faces of all who happened to be in their way. Every one was in a hurry to put his cockade in his pocket, and those brave Parisians, those conquerors of the Bastille, those first heroes of the Revolution trembled before a handful of Provincial brigands in rags,

the

the galleries, and obtained only the honours of the Sitting, and the favour of their petition being referred to the Commission of the Twelve; which was also granted to the Marseillois, who had likewise sent a deputation to complain of having been insulted by the National Guard, and to petition for the reduction of their Staff.

It was naturally to be expected, and all good citizens hoped, that the Assembly would not hesitate to clear the Capital of this band of brigands, and that they would immediately send them to the frontiers by a very honourable decree, which they could not have refused obeying without raising a suspicion of their bravery or their patriotism; but the factious, who had sent for the Marseillois, wanted them only in Paris, and easily obtained from the Commission of the Twelve a report favourable to their views. *Guadet*, who was charged with it, represented that it would be a mockery to invite the Federates of Marseilles to proceed to the camp of Soissons, when it was more than probable that there was nothing ready to receive them, and that there were neither tents, arms, clothes, linen, or even food enough; he therefore proposed to the Assembly

sembly to confine themselves for the present to sending three Commissioners to Soissons to ascertain the facts. This exclusive tenderness for the Federates of Marseilles was not very obliging to those of other Provinces and of the Capital, who were daily sent off to Soissons and the frontiers, where our armies were completely provisioned, and whither consequently the Marseillois might have gone without any obstacle. But nobody dared to propose it, and the Assembly adopted the advice of the Report. They decreed at the same time a proclamation, addressed to the National Guards and to the Federates, advising them to be on their guard against distrusts and dissensions which the enemies of the Constitution were endeavouring to sow amongst them, and who had no other view than to weaken by dividing them, to hurry them into the commission of crimes, and to force them to turn their arms against one another for the purpose of restoring, by a civil war, the old system and despotism.

A civil war was, in fact, what the Jacobins most dreaded; and their great disgust with *M. de la Fayette* was merely the consequence of their seeing in him the only man

man who could with advantage put himself at the head of the Royalist party. There is no doubt, that if at this moment he had dared to declare himself the leader of it, he would soon have brought over to him all the Constitutional party, and the sound part of all the National guards of the kingdom. Such, as we have seen in the foregoing Chapters, was the plan he proposed to the King; and he would certainly have attempted the execution of it, had his Majesty but simply given his consent. Could M. de la Fayette, however, who had as yet done so little to regain the King's confidence, who well knew his Majesty's irresolution, and particularly the horror he felt at every idea of civil war, reasonably expect to obtain the consent he asked? He would have repaired all his errors by so signal a service; and he sincerely wished it: but unfortunately with too little energy to dare to take the only resolution which could succeed, that of attempting, at the risk of his life, to save the King without his knowledge, without the hazard of involving him, and depending on his approbation in case of success. The words said to have been spoken by *Luckner*, and attested by several Members

bers of the Commission of the Twelve, evidently showed that *M. de la Fayette* had this project in view. The Jacobins were convinced of it, and flattered themselves that the inquiry ordered by the Assembly would yield the most satisfactory proofs to ground a decree of impeachment against the Counter-revolutionary General, but they were completely disappointed. *M. Bureaux de Puzy* being summoned to the Bar of the Assembly, gave a very circumstantial account of the business on which he had been sent to Mareschal *Luckner*, and proved by the correspondence of the two Generals, whose letters he read and laid upon the table, that *M. de la Fayette* had never proposed, or caused to be proposed to the Mareschal, to march to Paris at the head of his army, but had only consulted him on the design he had of going there alone, after the outrages of the 20th of June, and of taking the step that had so violently exasperated the Jacobins. Before he set out, he had requested to know whether Mareschal *Luckner* thought it would be attended with any detriment to the service with which they were charged in common, and for which they were both responsible. *M. Bureaux de*
de

de Puzy demonstrated that this was the whole object of his mission. He pleaded his own cause, and that of the two Generals, ably and nobly, and was loudly applauded by all the *Coté-droit*, and by several Members of the *Coté-gauche*.

In a letter to the Assembly, the *Maréchal* formally disowned the words that had been attributed to him, lamented the difficulty he had in explaining himself in French, expressed the pain he felt at finding so dreadful a turn given to a conversation misunderstood, and declared, that if the proposal of marching against Paris had been made to him by any agent whatever of the public force, he should not have been contented with rejecting it with horror, but should have thought it his duty to denounce so criminal a project to the Constituted Authorities.

M. de la Fayette, to whom the denunciation made against him by the Members of the Commission of the Twelve, and the Act of the Legislative Body of the 21st of July had been signified by the Minister of the Interior, replied also by a letter, the principles and firmness of which were

loudly applauded by the Constitutional party. It was as follows :

“ If I were questioned respecting my
“ principles, I should say, that a constant
“ proclaimer and defender of the Rights of
“ Man, and the sovereignty of nations, I
“ have everywhere and always resisted au-
“ thorities which liberty disavowed, and
“ which the national will had not delegated;
“ and that I have everywhere and always
“ obeyed those, the forms and limits of
“ which were settled by a free Constitution.
“ But I am questioned respecting a fact.
“ Did I propose to Marechal *Luckner* to
“ march to Paris with our armies? To
“ which I answer in four words—*It is not*
“ *true.*

“ LA FAYETTE.”

The Assembly referred these different papers to the Commission of the Twelve, and directed them to make a report upon them in eight days. They destroyed the principal means on which the Jacobins had depended for ruining *M. de la Fayette*, but this did not diminish their animosity against him. Their Journals and pamphlets daily un-
masked

masked pretended conspiracies, of which he was accused of being the leader. The orators of the Palais-Royal groups called down upon him the execration of all good patriots, to whom they marked out beforehand as his accomplices all the Members of the Assembly who should be so base as to vote for him.

The Manifesto of the Powers at length appeared, and for a moment gave a pause to the manœuvres which agitated the Capital. This Manifesto, so much expected, was not that, the plan of which had been proposed by *Mallet-du-Pan*, and agreed to, but one drawn up by *Dulimon*, as dictated by the Ministers of the Emperor and King of Prussia; and the *Duke of Brunswick*, who signed it as Commander in Chief, had not even been consulted upon it. The publication of it produced an effect the very reverse of what had been expected. All parties, some violent Royalists excepted, were provoked at the boastings of the *Duke of Brunswick*, or laughed at them. The factious did not fail to attribute to the suggestions of the King all the menaces respecting the safety of himself and his family, and thence concluded that his Majesty was in correspond-

ence with the enemies of the nation. How could it be expected that the threat of giving up Paris to be pillaged would have any effect upon the Jacobins, few of whom had any property there? Still less was it calculated to intimidate the brigands, who had flocked thither in such numbers, only in the hope of that very pillage, for which they would not have failed to join the Austrians and Prussians. It would have been less absurd, and more efficacious, to have threatened to level with the ground, in all the towns taken, the houses belonging to the Presidents and principal speakers of the Jacobin Clubs, and to give up to pillage all the apartments in which they were lodgers. Had a single example of this kind been made, it is probable that most of the Jacobins of the kingdom would have been turned into the streets.

This Manifesto has been so much talked of, and the circumstances under which it was published render it of such great importance, that I cannot dispense with reporting it. It was as follows :

“DECLA-

“ **DECLARATION** *addressed by his Most Serene Highness the reigning Duke of Brunswick Lunenburgh, commanding the combined Armies of their Majesties the Emperor and the King of France, to the Inhabitants of France**.

“ Their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia having entrusted me with the command of the combined armies assembled on the frontiers of France, I think it my duty to inform the inhabitants of that kingdom of the motives which have influenced the conduct of the two Sovereigns, and of the principles by which they are guided.

“ After arbitrarily suppressing the rights and invading the possessions of the German Princes in Alsace and Lorraine; after having disturbed and overthrown in the interior part of the kingdom all order and lawful government; after having been guilty of the most daring attacks,

* The King of Prussia published at the same time a brief declaration of the reasons which had induced him to take up arms against France. See Appendix, No. XXIX.

“ and having had recourse to the most vio-
 “ lent measures, which are still daily re-
 “ newed, against the sacred person of the
 “ King, and against his august Family—
 “ those who have seized on the reigns of
 “ Government have at length filled the mea-
 “ sure of their guilt, by declaring an unjust
 “ war against his Majesty the Emperor,
 “ and by invading the provinces of the
 “ Low Countries. Some of the possessions
 “ belonging to the German Empire have
 “ been equally exposed to the same oppres-
 “ sion; and many others have only avoided
 “ the danger, by yielding to the imperious
 “ threats of the domineering party, and of
 “ their emissaries.

“ His Majesty the King of Prussia, united
 “ with his Imperial Majesty in the bands of
 “ the strictest defensive alliance, and as a
 “ preponderant Member himself of the
 “ Germanic Body, could not refuse march-
 “ ing to the assistance of his Ally and of
 “ his Co-Estates. It is under this double
 “ relation that he undertakes the defence of
 “ that Monarch and of Germany.

“ To these high interests is added another
 “ important object, and which both the
 “ Sovereigns have most cordially in view,
 “ which

“ which is to put an end to that anarchy
“ which prevails in the interior parts of
“ France, to put a stop to the attacks made
“ on the Throne and the Altar, to restore
“ the King to his legitimate power, to li-
“ berty and to safety, of which he is now
“ deprived, and to place him in such a
“ situation, that he may exercise that le-
“ gitimate authority to which he is en-
“ titled.

“ Convinced that the sober part of the
“ nation detests the excesses of a faction
“ which has enslaved them, and that the
“ majority of the inhabitants wait with
“ impatience the moment when succours
“ shall arrive, to declare themselves openly
“ against the odious enterprises of their
“ oppressors; his Majesty the Emperor,
“ and his Majesty the King of Prussia, ear-
“ nestly invite them to return without delay
“ into the paths of reason and of justice, of
“ order and peace. It is with this view
“ that I, the underwritten, General Com-
“ mandant in Chief of the two armies, do
“ declare—

“ 1st, That drawn into the present war
“ by irresistible circumstances, the two
“ Allied Courts have no other object in

“ view than the welfare of France, without
“ any pretence to enrich themselves by
“ making conquests.

“ 2dly, That they do not mean to meddle
“ with the internal Government of France,
“ but that they simply intend to deliver the
“ King, the Queen, and the Royal Family,
“ from their captivity, and to ensure to his
“ Most Christian Majesty that safety which
“ is necessary for his making, without dan-
“ ger and without obstacles, such convoca-
“ tions as he shall judge proper; and for
“ endeavouring to ensure the welfare of his
“ subjects, according to his promises, and
“ to the utmost of his power.

“ 3dly, That the combined armies shall
“ protect the towns, bourgs, and villages,
“ as well as the persons and property of all
“ those who shall submit to the King; and
“ that they will concur in the immediate
“ restoration of order and police throughout
“ all France.

“ 4thly, That the National guards are
“ called upon to preserve, provisionally,
“ tranquillity in towns and in the country,
“ to provide for the personal safety and pro-
“ perty of all Frenchmen, until the arrival
“ of the troops belonging to their Imperial
“ and

“ and Royal Majesties, or until orders be
“ given to the contrary, on pain of being
“ personally responsible: that, on the con-
“ trary, such National guards as shall fight
“ against the troops of the two Allied
“ Courts, and who shall be taken with
“ arms in their hands, shall be treated as
“ enemies, and punished as rebels to their
“ King, and as disturbers of the public
“ peace.

“ 5thly, That the General Officers, the
“ subalterns, and soldiers of the French
“ regular troops, are equally called upon to
“ return to their former allegiance, and to
“ submit immediately to the King their le-
“ gitimate Sovereign.

“ 6thly, That the Members of the Depart-
“ ments, Districts, and Municipalities,
“ shall be equally responsible, on pain of
“ losing their heads and their estates, for
“ all the crimes, all the conflagrations, all
“ the murders and the pillage which they
“ shall suffer to take place, and which they
“ shall not have, in a public manner, at-
“ tempted to prevent within their respective
“ territories; that they shall also be obliged
“ to continue their functions until his
“ Most Christian Majesty, when set at
“ full

“ full liberty, shall make further arrange-
“ ments, or till further orders be given in
“ his name.

“ 7thly, That the inhabitants of towns,
“ bourgs, and villages, who shall dare to
“ defend themselves against the troops of
“ their Imperial and Royal Majesties, and
“ to fire upon them, either in open country,
“ or through half open doors or windows
“ of their houses, shall be punished in-
“ stantly, according to the rigorous rules of
“ war, or their houses shall be demolished
“ or burned. On the contrary, all the in-
“ habitants of the said towns, bourgs, and
“ villages, who shall readily submit to their
“ King, by opening their gates to the troops
“ belonging to their Majesties, shall be
“ immediately under their safeguard and
“ protection; their estates, their property,
“ and their persons, shall be secured by the
“ laws, and each and all of them shall be
“ in full safety.

“ 8thly, The city of Paris, and all its
“ inhabitants, without distinction, shall be
“ called upon to submit instantly, and
“ without delay, to the King; to set that
“ Prince at full liberty, and to ensure to his
“ and to all Royal persons that inviolability
“ and

“ and respect which are due, by the laws
“ of nature and of nations, to Sovereigns :
“ their Imperial and Royal Majesties mak-
“ ing personally responsible for all events,
“ on pain of losing their heads pursuant to
“ military trials, without hopes of pardon,
“ all the Members of the National Assem-
“ bly, of the Department, of the District,
“ of the Municipality, and of the National
“ guards of Paris, Justices of Peace, and
“ others whom it may concern ; and their
“ Imperial and Royal Majesties farther de-
“ clare, on their faith and word of Empe-
“ ror and King, that if the Palace of the
“ Thuilleries be forced or insulted—if the
“ least violence be offered, the least outrage
“ done to their Majesties, the King, the
“ the Queen, and the Royal Family—if
“ they be not immediately placed in safety
“ and set at liberty, they will *inflict on*
“ *those who shall deserve it the most exem-*
“ *plary and ever-memorable avenging pu-*
“ *nishments, by giving up the city of Paris*
“ *to military execution, and exposing it to*
“ *total destruction ; and the rebels who*
“ *shall be guilty of illegal resistance, shall*
“ *suffer the punishments which they shall*
“ *have deserved.* Their Imperial and
“ Royal

“ Royal Majesties promise, on the con-
 “ trary, to all the inhabitants of the city
 “ of Paris, to employ their good offices
 “ with his Most Christian Majesty, to pro-
 “ cure for them a pardon for their insults
 “ and errors, and to adopt the most vigo-
 “ rous measures for the security of their
 “ persons and property, provided they speed-
 “ ily and strictly conform to the above in-
 “ junctions.

“ Finally, their Majesties not being at
 “ liberty to acknowledge any other laws in
 “ France, except those which shall be de-
 “ rived from the King when at full liberty,
 “ protest beforehand against the authenti-
 “ city of all kinds of declarations which
 “ may be issued in the name of the King,
 “ so long as his sacred person, and that of
 “ the Queen and the Princes of the whole
 “ Royal Family, shall not be in in full
 “ safety; and with this view, their Imperial
 “ and Royal Majesties *invite and entreat*
 “ *his Majesty to name a town in his king-*
 “ *dom, nearest to the frontiers, to which*
 “ *he would wish to remove, together with*
 “ *the Queen and the Royal Family, under*
 “ *a strong and safe escort, which shall be*
 “ *sent for that purpose; so that his Most*
 “ Christian

“ Christian Majesty may, in perfect safety;
“ send for such Ministers and Counsellors
“ as he shall be pleased to name; order
“ such convocations as he shall think pro-
“ per, and provide for the restoration of
“ order and the regular administration of
“ his kingdom.

“ In fine, I declare and promise in my
“ own individual name, and in my above
“ quality, to cause to be observed every-
“ where, by the troops under my command,
“ good and strict discipline, promising to
“ treat with mildness and moderation those
“ well-disposed subjects who shall submit
“ peaceably and quietly, and to employ
“ force against those only who shall be
“ guilty of resistance, or of manifest evil
“ intentions.

“ I therefore call upon and expect all the
“ inhabitants of the kingdom, in the most
“ earnest and forcible manner, not to make
“ any opposition to the troops under my
“ command, but rather to suffer them every-
“ where to enter the kingdom freely, and
“ to afford them all the assistance, and shew
“ them all the benevolence, which circum-
“ stances may require.

“ Given

“ Given at General Quarters at Coblentz,
 “ July 25, 1792.

“ Signed,

“ CHARLES GUILLAUME FERDINAND
 “ DUC DE BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG.”

Two days after this declaration was published, the Duke of *Brunswick* issued an additional one on account of the report that had been spread, that the Jacobins meant to remove the King and Royal Family to the South of France, as soon as the combined armies entered our frontiers. They certainly never had any such design. The factious were too acute not to perceive, that by so changing the country, or at least removing the seat of the Revolution, they would have entirely disorganized it. For in what part of France would they have been able to find the resources and means of power of every kind which they had collected in the Capital? To have removed them from it, therefore, might have been of great advantage; but the additional declaration tended, on the contrary, to keep them there. In that the Duke of *Brunswick* said, “ I declare, that
 “ if, contrary to all expectation, by the
 “ perfidy

“ perfidy or baseness of some inhabitants of
“ Paris, the King, the Queen, or any other
“ person of the Royal Family, should be
“ carried off from that city, all the places
“ and towns whatsoever which shall not
“ have opposed their passage, and shall not
“ have stopped their proceeding, shall incur
“ the same punishments as those inflicted on
“ the inhabitants of Paris; and the route
“ which shall be taken by those who carry
“ off the King and Royal Family, shall be
“ marked with a series of exemplary pu-
“ nishments, justly due to the authors and
“ abettors of crimes for which there is no
“ remission.”

The French Princes also published, on the 8th of August, a declaration containing a sincere statement of their conduct, reasons, sentiments, and intentions*.

No doubt was entertained beyond the Rhine, that these different declarations, would ensure perfect safety for the King and his family, that they would spread alarm and the spirit of desertion among the patriots,

* This important paper was not known at Paris till towards the end of August. See Appendix, No. XXX.

and

and that they would assemble in the combined armies, on their entering France, all the Royalists of the interior, the adherents of the nobility, clergy, and Parliaments of the old system, and all dissatisfied persons; but those threats, too ridiculously heightened to be believed sincere, neither frightened nor induced any one to join the armies.

The factious showed more ability in their choice of means to promote desertion in the foreign armies. They laid it down as a principle, “that desertion was but an honourable exercise of a natural right, when any one chose to leave a land of slavery, to take refuge in one of liberty: that free men were but of one country, and that there could exist no obligation on the part of a man deprived of his natural rights, towards him who had deprived him of them.” On this principle the Assembly, on the 2d of August, in consequence of *Guadet’s* report, passed the following decree:

“ 1. Every officer or soldier of the enemy’s army, who, desiring to range themselves under the banner of liberty, shall appear at a military post, or before one of the Constituted Authorities, as a
“ French

“ French citizen, shall be received with
 “ fraternal affection; shall be presented, as
 “ a sign of his adoption, with a cockade of
 “ three colours; shall enjoy a pension for
 “ life of an hundred livres, of which one
 “ quarter shall be always in advance, and
 “ shall be admitted to take the Civic Oath.
 “ The pension, upon their decease, shall be
 “ continued to their widows.

“ 2. Those who would not contract a
 “ military engagement, shall not be forced
 “ to it; those who chuse it, shall be admit-
 “ ted to what army they please, and shall
 “ receive the ordinary fee upon enlisting.

“ 3. Lists shall be formed of foreigners
 “ in the service of France, and the pensions
 “ of those who die shall be continued to
 “ the survivors, till the latter shall have an-
 “ nuities of five hundred livres each.

“ 4. The widows of such military per-
 “ sons will receive the annual pension of
 “ one hundred livres, but will not share
 “ the benefits of the tontine.

“ 5. Those who do not take a military
 “ engagement, shall retire into the interior
 “ parts of the kingdom; those who shall
 “ serve, will have the same reward for bril-
 “ liant actions as French citizens.”

Could there be a more alluring bait for all such foldiers as wanted fpirit, wére difgusted with fervice, diffatisfied with their officers or their pay, than the certainty of being paid, and in advance, without having any thing to do, or being expofed to any danger? And fo it happened; for the confequence of this decree was, that defections from the Austrian and Pruffian armies were very much increafed, whereas the Duke of *Brunfwick's* Manifefto made no impreffion on the French foldiers.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Letter from the King to the Assembly on the Duke of Brunswick's Declaration—Petitions and Addresses for the Deposition of the King—M. Vaublanc remonstrates against the tumultuous Conduct of the Galleries—Appearance of the Court on the 5th of August—The King changes his Resolution of leaving Paris—Conduct of the Duke de Liancourt. A sudden Project formed for the King's Escape by Compiègne—How frustrated—The Motion for a Decree of Impeachment against M. de la Fayette rejected—Petition for the King's Deposition, signed by

H 2

the

the Federates and others in the Champs-de-Mars—Terms demanded by Brisset for preventing the expected Insurrection—Santerre's Terms—The Deputies who defended M. de la Fayette insulted and attacked in the Streets—Resolution of the Section of the Quinze-Vingts—Ferment of the Capital—Preparations for defending the Palace—Election of a New Commune.

ALTHOUGH the Duke of *Brunswick's* manifesto was not officially known, the general knowledge of it, and its appearance in all the Gazettes, sufficiently proved its existence to make it necessary for the King to take some notice of it to the Legislative Body. The Ministers therefore went to the Assembly on the 3d of August, and delivered the following letter to the President:

“ Mr. President,
 “ For several days a paper has been circulated, entitled, *The Declaration of the*
 “ *reigning Duke of Brunswick-Lun-*
 “ *burgh, Commander of the Combined Ar-*
mies

“ *miss of their Majesties the Emperor and*
 “ *the King of Prussia, addressed to the in-*
 “ *habitants of France.* This paper exhi-
 “ bits nothing that can be considered as a
 “ proof of its authenticity. It has not
 “ been transmitted by any of my Ministers
 “ at the several Courts of Germany near
 “ our frontiers. The publication of it,
 “ nevertheless, seems to me to require a
 “ new declaration of my sentiments and my
 “ principles.

“ France is menaced by a great combina-
 “ tion of forces. Let us all recollect the
 “ necessity of union. Calumny will not
 “ easily believe the sorrow I feel in confi-
 “ dering the dissensions that exist among us,
 “ and the evils gathering around us; but
 “ those who know of what value in my
 “ eyes are the blood and the fortune of
 “ the people, will give credit to my un-
 “ easiness and my grief.

“ I brought with me pacific sentiments
 “ to the throne, because peace, the first
 “ blessing of nations, is the first duty of
 “ Kings. My former Ministers know what
 “ efforts I have made to avoid war. I felt
 “ how necessary peace was; that alone could
 “ enlighten the nation on the new form of

“ her government ; that alone, by sparing the
 “ sufferings of the people, could make me
 “ support the character I undertook in the
 “ Revolution. But I yielded to the unani-
 “ mous opinion of my Council, to the
 “ wish manifested by a great part of the
 “ nation, and several times expressed by
 “ the National Assembly.

“ When war was declared, I neglected
 “ none of the means of assuring its success*.
 “ My Ministers received orders to concert
 “ measures with the Committees of the
 “ National Assembly and with the Generals.
 “ If the event has not yet answered the
 “ hopes of the nation, ought we not to lay
 “ the blame on our intestine divisions, the
 “ progress of the spirit of party, and above
 “ all, on the state of our armies, which
 “ required to be more practised in the use of
 “ arms before they were led to combat ? But
 “ the nation shall see my efforts increase
 “ with those of the hostile powers ; I will
 “ take, in concert with the National As-
 “ sembly, every means to turn the evils in-

* The reading was here scandalously interrupted by the murmurs that broke out in one part of the Hall, and by the clamour of the galleries.

“ separable

“ separable from war to the advantage of
“ its liberty and glory.

“ I have accepted the Constitution ; the
“ majority of the nation desired it ; I saw
“ that the nation considered it as the foun-
“ dation of its happiness, and its happi-
“ ness is the sole object of my life.

“ From that moment, I imposed it as a
“ law upon myself, to be faithful to the
“ Constitution* ; and I gave orders to my
“ Ministers to make it the rule of their
“ conduct. I wished not to substitute my
“ knowledge for experience, nor my opi-
“ nion for my oath. It was my duty to
“ labour for the good of the people : I
“ have discharged that duty ; and to have
“ done so is enough to satisfy the conscience
“ of an honest man. Never shall I be seen
“ compounding the glory or the interests of
“ the nation ; never receiving the law from
“ reigners or from a party ; it is to the na-
“ tion that I am bound ; I am one and the
“ same with it ; no interest shall separate me
“ from it ; the nation alone shall be listened
“ to, and I will maintain the National inde-

* Here the murmurs and clamours were redoubled,
and even the words *it is not true* were heard !

“ pendance with my last breath. Personal
“ dangers compared with public dangers,
“ are nothing. What are personal dan-
“ gers to a King, from whom it is at-
“ tempted to alienate the love of the people?
“ There lies the real wound of my heart.
“ The people, perhaps, will one day know
“ how dear to me their happiness is, how
“ much it has always been my sole interest,
“ my first wish. How many griefs might
“ be effaced by the slightest marks of its
“ return !”

This letter, in which the King with sincerity and candour, and in so affecting a manner mentioned his principles, his conduct, his sentiments, and his sufferings, was heard without the least emotion by a great majority of this brutal Assembly. They even dared to refuse to order its being printed, under a pretence of its containing sentiments of which the King had as yet given no sufficient proof. “ It is not in
“ empty letters,” it was said, “ but in
“ actions of great energy, that the formal
“ act of resistance, which the Constitution
“ prescribes to the King against enemies
“ who

“ who make war upon us and his name,
“ consists.”

Isnard ascended the tribune in rage, and undertook to prove by his vociferations that the conduct of the King was as contrary to the Constitution as his language was conformable to it; and that, not satisfied with having done nothing that he ought to have done to support a foreign war successfully, to prevent a civil one, and to put a stop to the plan of Counter-revolution formed by a factious nobility and rebellious priests, he had obstructed all the measures of the Assembly.

To complete the scandal of this Sitting, *Petion* appeared at the head of a deputation from the Commune, and recapitulated the pretended grievances the nation had to complain of against the King since the opening of the States-General, and the pretended favours conferred by the nation on *Louis XVI.* The infamous petition he brought concluded thus:

“ From a remaining inclination to indul-
“ gence, we could have wished it were in
“ our power to ask of you only the sus-
“ pension of *Louis XVI.* while the danger
“ of the country existed; but this the Con-
“ stitution

“stitution forbids. *Louis XVI.* incessantly
“invokes the Constitution: we invoke it
“in our turn, and demand his deposition.
“This grand measure once adopted, it
“being very doubtful that the nation can
“have confidence in the present dynasty,
“we demand that Ministers, jointly re-
“sponsible, proposed by the National As-
“sembly, but not any of their own Mem-
“bers, according to the Constitutional act,
“and chosen by the open votes of free
“men, should exercise provisionally the
“Executive Power, until the will of the
“people, your Sovereign and ours, be le-
“gally declared in a National Convention,
“as soon as the safety of the State shall
“permit it. Meanwhile, let our enemies,
“whoever they be, all assemble beyond our
“frontiers; let the base and the perjured
“desert the land of liberty, and let 300,000
“slaves advance, they shall find before
“them ten millions of free men ready for
“death or victory, fighting for equality,
“for their paternal roofs, their wives, their
“children, and their aged friends. Let
“every one of us be a soldier in his turn;
“and if we are destined to have the honour
“of dying for our country, let each of us,
“before

“ before he yields his last breath, render his
“ memory illustrious by the death of a slave
“ or of a tyrant.”

These ridiculous rhodomantades and these demands, the least fault of which was their entire opposition to the Constitution, were applauded with rapture; and the Assembly, who, had they done their duty, would have sent the petition of the Commune of Paris to a Court of Justice for the purpose of trying the petitioners, referred it to the Commission of the Twelve.

The Commune having thus with impunity given the signal of rebellion, were soon followed by the Sections. That of Mauconseil entered on the same day into a Resolution, the substance of which was as follows:
“ Considering that it is impossible to save
“ Liberty by the Constitution, that conse-
“ quently so far the Constitution cannot be
“ regarded as the expression of the general
“ will; considering that *Louis XVI.* has
“ lost the confidence of the nation, the As-
“ sembly, met to the number of 600 and
“ upwards, declare, in the most authentic
“ and solemn manner to all their brethren,
“ that they no longer acknowledge *Louis*
“ *XVI.* as King of the French, and that, in
“ renewing

“ renewing the oath of living and dying free,
“ and of being faithful to the nation, they
“ retract the remainder of their oath, the
“ public credulity having been deluded into
“ it: and they do in consequence RESOLVE,
“ that on Sunday next the 5th of August,
“ they will go all together to the Legislative
“ Body to acquaint them with the present
“ declaration, and to ask them whether they
“ will at length save the country, reserving
“ themselves, according to the answer they
“ shall receive, to take a suitable determina-
“ tion; vowing beforehand, that they will
“ rather bury themselves under the ruins of
“ liberty than subscribe to the despotism of
“ Kings: they do moreover RESOLVE,
“ that an address shall be sent to the 47
“ other Sections, and to all the Communes
“ of the Department of Paris, containing
“ an invitation to support the present Reso-
“ lution, and to join them on the said day,
“ Sunday, August 5th, at eleven o’clock in
“ the morning, to appear before the Legis-
“ lative Body.”

The address which accompanied this Resolution was not only seditious, but regicide. I shall cite only the following passage of it: “ Already has a contemptible tyrant

“ tyrant too long sported with our fate; let us
 “ beware of postponing his punishment till
 “ he has secured his triumph. Citizens!
 “ rouse, and remember that a tyrant never
 “ pardons. Without still wasting our time in
 “ weighing his errors, crimes, and perjuries,
 “ let us strike the frightful Colossus of despo-
 “ tism; let it fall, let it be dashed to pieces,
 “ and let the noise of its fall make tyrants
 “ to the extremities of the world grow pale.”

This address appointed the *Boulevard de la Magdeleine* as the general place of meeting. The Assembly considering these acts as derogatory to their authority, and as a manifest usurpation of their power, annulled them as unconstitutional, and in the same decree, invited all the citizens to confine their zeal within the limits of the law. Petitions, however, the most inconsistent with the Constitution, were not in their eyes out of those limits. In the same Sitting, and almost at the same instant, they received, not only without disapprobation but with applause, a petition from the Section of the Gravilliers, requiring them in the most imperious tone to declare immediately that there were grounds for an impeachment of *Louis XVI.* “ We yet
 “ leave

“leave to you,” added the speaker of the deputation, “the honour of saving the country; but if you refuse to do it, it will certainly behove us to take the resolution of saving it ourselves.”

The applauses of the *Coté-gauche* and acclamations of the galleries redoubled when this deputation, admitted to the honours of the Sitting, crossed the Hall. It would not have been easy to find a more effectual method of encouraging, addresses and petitions for the deposition of the King; and it was accordingly voted by acclamation in less than four-and-twenty hours by all the Sections of Paris, except those of the *Bibliothèque* and *Arsenal*, who, resisting with indignation all the attempts that were made to seduce them, had the noble courage to protest solemnly against the address of the *Commune* demanding the deposition of the King. They notified their protest to the Assembly by petitions, in which that address was denounced as unconstitutional, framed without any authority on their part, and as injurious to the patriotism and good sense of the citizens of the Capital. These petitions called forth the murmurs of the *Coté-gauche*, and were hooted by

by the galleries. Some Members of the *Coté-droit* who attempted to remonstrate against this shameful behaviour, were interrupted at every word by still louder murmurs. The brave and worthy *Vaublanc*, incensed at the uproar, and prevailing over it by the strength of his voice, censured the Assembly with great energy for bearing such indignities. "It is not," said he, "by
" yielding to the clamours of the galleries,
" and thus basely sacrificing our duties, that
" we are to give the brave defenders of the
" country an example of the courage that
" should animate citizens fighting for li-
" berty; if it is not to reign within these
" walls I shall no where see public liberty.
" If then these vociferations are to continue,
" if I cannot speak my opinion freely here,
" I shall move, not with clamour, but very
" coolly, that we leave Paris. This will be
" the part of courage and of duty, if you
" find that the people of this town wish to
" domineer over you, and if the galleries
" persist to insult by these clamours both the
" National Sovereignty and the Constitu-
" tional laws, without which you would be
" nothing, and liberty but a phantom. I
" move therefore that the Report prepared
" by

“ by the Extraordinary Commission respecting the galleries, and the order of your Sittings be made to-morrow.”

This motion was decreed*, but almost at the same instant the Assembly had the cowardice to admit to the Bar a number of people, who said that they were deputed by several Sections of Paris to state their adherence to the declaration of the Section of Mauconseil, which had just been annulled as unconstitutional, and yet these people obtained the honour of marching into the Hall to the number of twenty.

The deposition of the King was not only the object of the numberless petitions daily presented to the Assembly through the means of the Jacobins, it had become the general cry of the populace, who, without suspecting the real meaning of the word, had it perpetually in their mouths, and stupidly thought that the deposition would be a remedy for every thing; that it would lower the price of bread and meat; that the Civil List would be divided among the patriots, that is to say, the *Sans-Culottes*; that all

* The Extraordinary Commission of the Twelve, a great part of whom were Girondists, did not make this report either next day, or the days following.

the

the offices and employments would be filled & disposed of by them, &c. It was thus that the factious had prepared their minds for the event which was to complete the destruction of the Monarchy ; an event which it was impossible not to see was very rapidly advancing, and which it was no longer in the King's power to avoid but by leaving Paris. I did not doubt therefore that his Majesty would be more convinced than ever of the necessity of abiding by that determination, and I went on the 4th of August to *M. de Montmorin's*, to settle finally with him all the preparations and arrangements relative to the King's departure.

Suffering day and night for six weeks the most dreadful anxiety for the dangers of the King, I was not aware that I was losing my health till I was made sensible of it by a very painful indisposition which prevented my walking or standing upright without the greatest difficulty. I nevertheless collected all my strength to attend the King's levee on Sunday the 5th of August. The Court had never been more brilliant, or at least more numerous than it was on that day. The lively interest and general uneasiness created by the situation of the King

and Queen were painted on every countenance. One seemed to read in the looks of all the painful expression of a last adieu. I could not long support this affecting scene; I tore myself away, my eyes filled with tears, to go and wait for M. *Lefort*, whose return I expected every hour, and far was I at that moment from thinking that I had seen the King and Royal Family for the last time.

The account M. *Lefort* gave me of his mission was in the highest degree satisfactory, and my hopes buoyed me up for a moment; but they all vanished on my receiving a message from the King and Queen with an order to suspend the preparations for their departure, as it was their Majesties' intentions to reserve that step for the last extremity.* In my conversation with M. *de Montmorin* on this fatal change, he told me that he was positively informed that it was the Queen who set his Majesty against the scheme of taking refuge in Gaillon, although she had at first approved of it; but her distrust of the Duke *de Liancourt*,

* See Private Memoirs, Vol. III. Chap. XXXI. and XXXII.

who

who commanded in that part of Normandy, afterwards determined her against that plan. "M. *Bertrand* does not consider," she said, "that he is throwing us into the hands of Constitutionalists."

Besides, they had just heard that the Prussian army was in motion. Nobody doubted but that the Duke of *Brunswick's* plan was to march straight to Paris; and it was thought that the French army were too weak and too ill commanded to resist the disciplined Germans, led by so experienced a General; and that our troops would take flight at his approach. Some private advisers of the Queen wished this too much not to believe it; and it was on these chimerical conjectures that the deluded Court founded their hopes.

With respect to the Duke *de Liancourt*, I had not become acquainted with him till the months of May 1792, and till then I never paid sufficient attention to his conduct to enable me to form any judgment of it. He sought my acquaintance, because his assiduous attendance at the Palace gave him an opportunity of knowing that I kept up a particular correspondence with the King: the object of his first visit was,

to inform me of the means he had of serving his Majesty in Normandy, whither he was then going. He had entirely gained the confidence of the regiments under his command there, as well as of the Department and Municipality; his design was to take every opportunity of rendering the Jacobins odious, of opposing Republican ideas, and strengthening the attachment which prevailed in that province for the King and Constitution.

The Duke foresaw that the King would be forced to leave the Capital, and Normandy appeared to him the Province in which his Majesty would be likely to meet with the most cordial reception, and where he would find himself in greatest security. Besides, Normandy was the only Province in which he could take refuge without passing the bounds prescribed by the Constitution. It was upon this occasion that the Duke *de Liancourt* told me, that if the King wanted money, as there was reason to fear would be the case, all his fortune, one hundred louis d'or a year excepted, was at his Majesty's disposal; and that by giving him notice, only a fortnight beforehand, he could furnish a million of livres at least.

The

The Duke *de Liancourt* observing the air of surprize with which I listened to his proposal, entered into a circumstantial account of the motives of his conduct in the Assembly, and the different proofs he had given the King of his attachment. This explanation appeared to me sincere, and left a sufficient impresson upon me to induce me to make a note of it; but I have no reason to be satisfied with myself for the use I made of it*.

I could

* I am obliged to say, that I was for a long time convinced of the sincerity of the Duke *de Liancourt's* sentiments, and that I should still have remained in that error, if he had not taken pains himself to undeceive me. I saw him frequently while he was in London, and in all the visits I received from him after the King's death, he shed tears with me for the fate of that unfortunate Prince. He was forever thinking and speaking of it, and was entirely occupied with a work intended to vindicate his memory. I was greatly charmed with these demonstrations of attachment, and was even simple enough to believe, as he told me, that he was going to America only to fly from every thing else, and devote himself entirely to that work. The feelings raised by so laudable a zeal, led me to try to recover the good opinion of the French nobility for the Duke *de Liancourt*; and in the *Private Memoirs*, which I published in 1797, I gave a faithful statement of the conversation I had had with him in 1792. It was not in my power at the time

I could not suspect that at the very time I received the order for suspending, and reserving for the last extremity, the measures relative to the plan I had proposed, the King was seriously considering another project for his departure. I was ignorant who the framer of it was, but would not doubt its existence, when Madame *Elizabeth*, on being made acquainted with it, and terrified at the dangers it presented, sent the Baron *de Gilliers* to me at eleven o'clock at night on the 8th of August, to inquire whether I had proposed it, and, if so, to prevail on me not to persist in it. The circumstances

to consult him upon it, nor should I have thought that necessary to do him the justice which I believed he deserved. Little did I expect a reproach from him; I rather anticipated thanks for my good intentions; but his residence in America had entirely altered his sentiments, or rather had revived those which had put the Queen upon her guard against him. On his return, he addressed a letter to me, of which I knew nothing till I saw it in the *Leyden Gazette*, and in which he accused me of attributing words to him in my *Memoirs* which he had never spoken: these he underlined, as if he had really copied them verbatim from my work. In my answer, which was inserted in several public papers, I proved to him that his quotations were erroneous; and his complaint unfounded. See these letters, APPENDIX, No. XXXI.

of

of this plan, mentioned to me by the Baron, convinced me that it was not mine. I begged him to assure Madame *Elizabeth* that it was not, and at the same time to tell her, that being convinced that the King's departure was indispensable, I had proposed another plan to him, which I did not doubt she would be much less alarmed at if she knew it; and that his Majesty, after having decided for more than a week past to follow it, had changed his mind, which made me very miserable.

I afterwards learned, that the plan which had so much alarmed Madame *Elizabeth*, was, that the King and Royal Family should set out for Compiègne, where every thing was to be ready, to enable their Majesties to leave the kingdom, in case of necessity, by the forest of Ardennes, and through the Principality of Beaumont. M. *d'Hervilly*, who was always about the King, had been informed, before I was, of the Queen's opposition to the plan of going to Gaillon, and his zeal had suggested this new one. The Princes had been apprised of it through the means of a person of very high rank, the Count *de L.*, who was sent to Coblenz, to concert with them the mili-

tary measures to be taken, if there should be occasion, for the safety of the Royal Family in their way through Ardennes and the Principality of Beaumont. Unfortunately, as he was passing through Brussels, the Count was invited to supper, where he had the indiscretion to mention the object of his mission, or to suffer the master of the house to guess it. The next day the Editor of the Brussels' Gazette inserted in his paper an article, stating the particulars of the plan for the King's going to Compiègne, which rendered the execution of it impossible. I have been assured that the very person with whom the Count *de L.* supped, sent this Gazette to the King, advising him at the same time to be more careful in his confidence. The Princes, who had begun to prepare for the execution of this plan, unable to conceive how the Editor of the Brussels' Gazette had gained the knowledge of it, sent *M. de Beauharnois* to inquire into the fact. On his arrival at Brussels, and after much difficulty, which he overcame with fifty Louis d'ors, he obtained, first, the confession of the Editor of the Gazette, that he received the article in question from the Secretary of an old Minister of France, with

with whom the Count *de L.* had supped on his way through Bruffels; and then the confession of the Secretary himself, who said that he was concealed behind an open door of a closet adjoining the room where the Minister and the Count *de L.* had a long private conversation; that he was placed so as to hear all that was said, and that from a memorandum he had written of this conversation, the article in the Gazette had been drawn up. Although the information which I have received on these facts is positive, the facts themselves are of such a nature, that to be thoroughly convinced of them, or to pass any judgment upon them, I should wish to have heard myself the confessions of the Editor and Secretary, and to have confronted the latter with the Minister.

The disheartening fatality that overturned, or led the King himself to reject, the best concerted measures for his safety, was as remarkable as the good fortune which was in a manner so propitious to the manœuvres of the factious, and to their very mistakes, that they all equally concurred to the success of their plan. Nothing certainly could be more impolitic than their animosity and furious

rious declamations against *M. de la Fayette*, at a moment when he was the idol of his soldiers: and indeed, if the decree of impeachment, solicited by so many petitioners, had been passed against him, he might, without the least difficulty, by virtue of the declaration of the Rights of Man, and by a very proper interpretation of the oath of maintaining the Constitution by every means in his power, have marched to Paris at the head of his army, and there exercised against the Clubs, and perhaps also against the Assembly themselves, the right of resisting oppression. We have seen in the preceding chapters, that he had determined on this part for the maintenance of the Constitution, and the safety of the King's person; and it may be presumed, that when his own defence was added to these motives, his resolutions would not have been less energetic. But supposing, against all probability, that *M. de la Fayette's* army had refused to follow him, a decree of impeachment would still have produced an effect very adverse to the chief object of the factious, as it would have satisfied, and consequently cooled, the people at a moment when it was of the greatest importance to their views to keep their
their

their irritation at the highest pitch of fury, to be more certain of obtaining whatever outrages might be necessary to compel a decree for the King's deposition: thus, in this business, the circumstance that would most effectually have contributed to the success of their execrable plan was, that the debate should be prolonged, and grow warmer and warmer for several Sittings, till the ferment and fury of the people were raised to a sufficient pitch, and then the proposed decree of impeachment rejected. Such, unfortunately for the King, was the issue of this affair; the motion for the decree of impeachment was rejected in the Sitting of the 8th of August by a majority, on a call of votes, of 406 against 224.

The debate had been frequently interrupted by fresh petitions for the deposition of the King. The most remarkable of these was one that had been signed in the *Champ-de-Mars* by the Federates, and by a great number of pretended citizens. This shameless rabble adopting nothing in the Constitution but the declaration of the Rights of Man, and looking upon all the rest as a *long catalogue of shameful and liberticide transactions with the chief of the Executive Power*, demanded, in an imperious

imperious style, 1st, that a veil should be thrown over the declaration of the Rights of Man, to show that all the calamities which France was suffering were to be attributed to the principles of it having been forgotten or destroyed; 2dly, that *Louis XVI.* should be adjudged to have forfeited the Crown; that, considering the serious state of things, the Primary Assemblies should be immediately convoked, to confirm the deposition, and fix the number of Representatives competent to form a National Convention; and that all citizens whatever, beggars and vagabonds excepted, should be entitled to vote at those Assemblies; 3dly, that all the Directories of Departments be supereded, all Staffs in the armies be reduced, and no Noble be suffered to be Commander in Chief; 4thly, that the patriot Ministers should be immediately recalled, and invested *pro tempore* with the functions of the Executive Power; 5thly, that a decree of impeachment be immediately passed against *M. de la Fayette*, with a declaration that *his letter to the Assembly, and his appearance at their Bar, were deemed sufficient proofs of his crimes against the sovereignty of the nation, to justify the sentence and execution*

execution of that traitor directly on his being arrested, &c. The Assembly, instead of committing these brigands to prison, or a house of correction, granted them the honours of the Sitting!

Although there was perhaps more cowardice than treachery in this conduct, it did not less clearly show that the King, in the dangers that awaited him, could expect no assistance from the Assembly. The Department, unpopular and disorganized by the resignation of all the Members of the Directory, was without power; the Commune and Sections, who alone might have been able to restrain the populace and brigands, had joined them in demanding the deposition of the King; of the forty-eight battalions of the National guard, there were not more than three or four well inclined; and the artillery were all, without exception, furious Revolutionists. There remained, then, for protecting the Royal Family against all those rebels, only 300 Swiss guards, about as many more National guards or soldiers of the disbanded Constitutional guard who had continued in Paris, and the faithful Royalists, who, without a leader, without a rallying

lying point, and without any arms but their swords, always flew to the Palace at every moment of danger. Alas! the number of these good and loyal servants was so much reduced by emigration, that their zeal could be but of very little use.

Meanwhile the reports I received from time to time, in the course of a day, from *Buob* the Justice, on the state of the Capital, and on the manœuvres of the Jacobins, became more and more alarming. The day, the hour, the final arrangement of the general insurrection were fixed. The King was exactly informed of it, and still flattered himself that he should be able to retard it, or moderate its consequences. A negociation for this purpose had been opened with *Brissot*, and on the 9th of August the King's agents were still haggling with that villain, who asked no less than twelve millions in specie, or foreign bills of exchange, to prevent the execution of the plot. He required also to be furnished with a passport to secure his flight out of the kingdom. This bargain would perhaps have been concluded, had the twelve millions demanded been in the chest of the Civil List; and it is more than

than probable, that after *Brissot* had carried the greater part of it out of the kingdom, the projected insurrection would have taken place a few days later.

The Court treated likewise with *Santerre*, who promised, for a sum of seven or eight hundred thousand livres, to use his credit, and every means in his power, to prevent the Palace from being attacked, and to insure the King and Royal Family from all manner of violence and insult whatsoever. Unfortunately, he did not take sufficient care to conceal from the vigilance of the Secret Committee of the Jacobins the steps he took to fulfil his engagement ; and that Committee, on being informed of them by their spies, determined to have *Santerre* arrested. Of this I was immediately informed by a note from *Buob*, which I instantly dispatched to the King, congratulating him on being delivered by the Jacobins themselves from the most dangerous conspirator. I was at the time entirely ignorant of the arrangement that had been made with *Santerre*, and did not know it for a long time after ; but I since learned, that the first idea that struck the Queen on her reading *Buob's* note was, that *Santerre* might imagine that the

the agreement entered into with him, the price of which had been in part paid down, was only a snare laid for him, and that her Majesty, in consequence, notwithstanding all the remonstrances that were made to her, insisted on notice being immediately given to *Santerre* of the resolution taken against him by the Committee of the Jacobins, that he might keep himself upon his guard. *We must not, said she, be thought capable of using treachery even against our enemies, whatever might be the advantage derived from it**. The noble and generous candour of this conduct made no impression on the savage soul of *Santerre*; he took advantage of the notice given him to provide for his own safety, forgot the engagement he had entered into with their Majesties, and showed himself a more violent Revolutionist than ever.

The Members of the Assembly who had voted against the decree of impeachment in the affair of *M. de la Fayette*, and particu-

* The *Baron de Gilliers*, who was honoured with the confidence of *Madame Elizabeth*, was informed by her of all these particulars, and from him I received the knowledge of them.

larly those who had spoken in his favour, soon felt the effects of the people's disapprobation. On going out of the Hall, they were almost every one insulted, beaten, and dragged through the dirt. Several of them who had fled for shelter to the Guard House at the Palais-Royal, were pursued thither by a large mob of brigands and federates, and to escape their fury, were obliged to jump out of a back window at the moment that the guard were forced to open the door of the house.

The Sitting of the next day, August 9, was almost entirely occupied with the reading of letters from the Deputies, who had been so violently attacked, to the Legislative Body, giving an account of the shocking treatment they had received, and declaring, that if effectual measures were not taken to protect liberty of opinion within their walls, and the personal safety and inviolability of their Members out of doors, they would withdraw from their functions, and inform their Constituents of the reasons of their conduct. "The city of Paris," said one of them, (*La Cretelle*,) "will meet with the fate of Avignon, if the Mayor and

“ Municipality do nothing but authorise
“ mobs.” Another Deputy (*Jolivet*) said,
“ that he had been in one of the galleries
“ of the Jacobin Club, where he had heard
“ the majority of the Assembly devoted to
“ public execration, for having acquitted
“ *M. de la Fayette*; had seen it resolved
“ that a List of the Deputies sold to the
“ Court, and who voted in favour of that
“ General, should be published, and stuck
“ up about the town; and had heard a
“ Member of the Club boast of the zeal
“ with which he had chased and insulted
“ all the Deputies, whose places of residence
“ it had been proposed to mention on the
“ list to be printed; a proposal which for-
“ tunately a cry of horror, proceeding from
“ the galleries, caused to be rejected.”

The Commander of the National guard had also been insulted and attacked with swords on quitting his post.

The reports of the Deputies were confirmed by a letter from the Minister of Justice, lamenting, that though he had written eight letters to the Assembly, to entreat them to pass a law for restraining those who excited the multitude to the commission of crimes

crimes, none had yet been enacted. "I have denounced," said he, "all those offences to the Criminal Court, by the express order of the King, but the laws are without power; the evil is at its height. In these circumstances, honour and duty call upon me to declare to you, that without the immediate support of the Legislative Body, the Government can no longer be responsible."

One of the boldest of *M. de la Fayette's* defenders (*M. de Vaublanc*) having, by a most fortunate accident, escaped the assassins, twelve of whom had been looking for him at his own and the neighbouring houses, came himself to make his complaint to the Assembly, with an intrepidity which compelled all parties to admire and applaud him. "I too," said he, "have been insulted, threatened, and should probably have been assassinated, but for the notice I received that a body of armed men, in the uniform of the National guards, invested my house, and were crying out that eighty citizens were to die by their hands, and that I was to be the first. No doubt, insults, threats, and ill treatment, are excellent means preparatory to the discussion of the

“ King’s deposition *; but they shall no
 “ more avail to render us perjured a few
 “ days hence, than they availed to render
 “ us unjust yesterday.” He moved that the
 Federates should be immediately sent to
 Soissons, and that the *Procureur-Syndic* of
 the Department should be ordered, on his
 responsibility, to take the most rigorous mea-
 sures for securing the tranquillity of Paris,
 and enabling the Members of the Assembly
 to vote freely, or to remove their Sittings to
 some other place. As he concluded his
 motion, the *Procureur-Syndic* of the De-
 partment appeared at the Bar, and gave the
 most alarming account of the disposition of
 the people, and of the state of the Capital.
 The Section of the *Quinze-vingts* had en-
 tered into a Resolution, declaring, *that if*
the Legislative Body did not, in the Sitting
of Thursday, August 9, decree the depofi-
tion of the King, the alarm bell should be
rung, and the drums beat at twelve o’clock at

* It was reported to the Commission of the Twelve, that the Mayor had declared, that on Sunday, the 5th of August, he had had the greatest difficulty in the world to restrain the Fauxbourgs; but that if the King’s deposition was not decreed, it was all over with the Assembly.

night,

night, that the people might all rise, and go to the Palace of the Thuilleries. This Resolution was addressed to the 47 other Sections, and was disapproved of only by one. Nine hundred armed men were to come to Paris in the evening, and the Municipality had ordered quarters to be got ready for them. The Commander General of the National guard being called before the Directory of the Department, had given disheartening information. The *Procureur-Syndic* here stated, that according to the Constitution, the functions of the Department, as to Police, were confined to a simple superintendence. "It does not belong to us," said he, "to exercise the immediate police. We should not only transgress the law, but we should diminish the responsibility of the Municipal Officers, and run a risk of counteracting their measures: but this I assure the Assembly, that we are all devoted to the public weal, and that I will hazard my life to oppose every enterprise not authorized by your decrees."

Petion also presented himself at the Bar, and asserted the eagerness of the Municipality to fly to every place where the public

tranquillity was threatened. He said, that in the most stormy moments they had always successfully employed the means of reason, confidence, and persuasion; and that on the present occasion those means were the only ones they had to use, for the public force, as well as the Assemblies of the Section, being composed of all the active citizens, was become deliberating bodies by the permanence of those Assemblies authorized by the Legislative Body; and that this public force being, like all other citizens, divided in opinion, to call upon them was to arm the citizens against one another. "It is very easy for the Department," added he, "to tell us to take measures, when they are themselves embarrassed; and it is still easier, when the events are past, to find fault with the measures pursued. It is particularly the Mayor that is usually made responsible for events; but I shall be able to bear the weight of the responsibility laid upon me by the law, and I can say that the Municipality will instantly adopt any good measure that shall be pointed out to them."

Nobody could be better acquainted with the properest means for restoring order and tranquillity

tranquillity in the Capital, than *Petion*. Had his intentions been purer, and more truly patriotic, he would himself have pointed them out; he would have made them popular by proposing them, and the Assembly would not have dared to reject them: those means were nothing more than to send off the Federates and Marseillois to the camp at Soissons, or the frontiers. A motion had been made to that effect, supported by all the Members of the *Coté-droit*, but it had been opposed by all those of the *Coté-gauche*, and principally by the Girondists, on the grounds of its being necessary, first, to ascertain whether preparations had been made at Soissons, or the adjoining cantonments, for receiving the Federates; and the Assembly shamefully concurred with the opposers of the motion, without taking any step to prevent the fatal consequences which would be the result, and which they could not be ignorant of. Was it not, in fact, clear, that thousands of furious brigands, arming and collecting mobs to exercise the sovereignty of the people, that is, the right of committing every manner of crime with impunity, would signalize their insurrection by the most horrible violence on the bleeding

wrecks of the Throne and of the Church? But the Assembly, as insensible to the dangers of the Constitution, as to the King's, thought only of those to which they might expose themselves, by incurring the displeasure of the brigands.

Meanwhile the moment of the general explosion was drawing near. The workmen of the Fauxbourgs, the Federates, the Marseillois, their arms, their artillery, all were ready, and there remained only the concerted signal for the breaking out of the insurrection. The persons attached to the King, and all the worthy part of the inhabitants yet remaining in Paris, were in a dreadful state of alarm and anxiety. Confined at home by the extreme pain I felt in walking, and by the impossibility of bearing the motion of a carriage, I did not go this day to the Palace, but I was minutely informed by *M. de Mar**** of what passed there, and of the steps that had been taken to secure it from the irruption of the brigands. The Commander of the National guard, (*Mandat*), his Staff, and the greater part of the soldiers, manifested the best inclinations. The intrepid fidelity of the Swiss guards was proof against every thing. Sixteen picked
battalions

battalions of the National guards received orders from M. *Mandat* to hold themselves ready to march, and by six o'clock in the evening all the posts of the Palace were trebled. Almost all the officers of the disbanded Constitutional guard had assembled in the *Œil de Beuf*, as well as a great number of Gentlemen and Royalists of every class, armed with swords and pistols. All animated with the same sentiments and feelings towards the Royal Family, they considered themselves as brothers, and promised one another to shed the last drop of their blood to save their good King. *Petion*, in his last visit to the Palace, had given an order in writing to the Commander of the National guard to repel force by force; and M. *Mandat* had given a duplicate of that order to the Commander of the Swiss guards, so that it could no longer be doubted, that if the Palace were attacked, it would be defended; and notwithstanding the immense disproportion that there must be between the number of the assailants, and that of the Defenders of the King, the baseness of the former, and the valour of the latter, with the justice of their cause, still sustained the confidence of the Royalists.

The

The fatal hour at length arrived. At midnight the alarm bell was rung, the drums beat to arms, and the National guard hastened from every part of the town to join their battalions. In this moment of confusion, the factious collected a few of their trusty citizens of each of the Sections, in their usual places of assembling, where they unanimously voted that all the Members of the Municipality and of the Commune, *Petion*, *Manuel*, and *Danton* only excepted, should be dismissed; and they hastily closed their Sittings, or rather their petty riots, by electing 192 Commissioners from among the Members of these groups to compose the new Council-General of the Commune*. No sooner was this act of darkness and rebellion consummated, than 300 of the factious went and beset the *Hotel-de-Ville*, gave notice to the Municipal Officers of the pretended election of the Sections, drove out the Members of the Commune and Municipality, and installed

* The whole number of Members present at these forty-eight meetings, did not amount to 600: at the Section of the Lombards there were but eight persons, who appointed five of those Commissioners.

the new Representatives of the people. These men immediately constituted themselves into a deliberative Assembly, and choosing one of the vilest agents of the Revolution, named *Huguenin**, for their President, they thought of nothing but how to second the plots of their real Constituents, the Jacobins. These pretended *friends of the Constitution* were not ignorant that it would be annihilated by so violent an outrage, and its consequences; but the first consideration was to ensure success to the attack to be made upon the Palace; and a Municipality, composed of villains ready to enter into this execrable conspiracy, was more to their purpose than a Constitutional Municipality of approved patriotism. The Revolutionary Commune began the use of the powers of which they had made themselves masters, by organizing and more effectually aiding the insurrection. At the

* This *Huguenin* had been a deserter, then a searcher at the Barriers, and was at this time a pander at brothels. *Tallien*, the Editor of an inflammatory paper which was daily stuck up about the town at the expence of the Jacobins, under the title of *Ami des Citoyens*, was appointed Secretary to this Revolutionary Commune, and by his crimes justified the choice of those villains.

increasing

increasing sounds of the alarm bell, the different bands of Federates, workmen, Mar-seillois, and other rebels, set out to assemble at the four points fixed for their meeting in the Fauxbourgs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Crisis of the 10th of August.

THE measures taken for the defence of the Palace, and the loyalty of the battalions who were to defend it *, particularly of the Commandant, (*Mandat*), induced the conspirators to give up their original plan of making the attack in the night, as too hazardous. It appeared to them more prudent to give the new Commune time to secure

* From this eulogy, however, we must except the Artillery, who had all shown that they were devoted to the factious, by insulting expressions and threats directed against the Gentlemen whom they saw coming into the Palace, and against several officers of the National guard.

to

by their operations the success of their enterprise: the attack was therefore postponed for some hours, and the rebels, curbing their impetuosity at the direction of their leaders, became so dilatory in their motions, that it was thought the factious had relinquished their plan.

The detachments of the National guard required by the Commandant, amounting to about 2,400 men, arrived at the Thuilleries in the night. They brought with them eleven pieces of cannon, three of which were placed in the Royal Court facing the gate, two in the Court of the Princes, one in the Court of the Swiss, one in the Court *de Marfan*, one at the door of the Riding-house, one at the *Pont-Royal*, and two at the *Pont-Tournant*. The Swiss were stationed with their colours in the Guard-house at the bottom of the great staircase, leading to the Court of the Princes, and they were joined by some of the National guards.

Two Municipal Officers (*Borie* and *Le Roulx*) passed the night at the Palace. *Petion* also was there; he had come at twelve o'clock, and was much embarrassed with the part he had to play, and with the determinations he had to make on the different directions

directions for which he was asked. To avoid as much as he could being importuned with these applications, he was perpetually moving from place to place through the apartments, the Courts, and the garden, so that there was no knowing where to find him. He held long conferences with the *Procureur-Syndic* of the Department, who had also gone to the Thuilleries. At length, some grenadiers of the National guard, either to prevent his leaving the Palace, or that so much time might not be lost in seeking him when he was wanted for orders, succeeded in fixing him at the foot of the Terrace staircase, by surrounding him. There he remained near an hour, seated on a step with another Municipal Officer, (*Serjent*). Among those who came to give him an account of what was passing, there was one of his confidential agents, to whom, by broken sentences and gestures, he made known his wish to be delivered from this kind of private imprisonment, at which he was obliged to wink. This person went immediately to the Bar of the Assembly, accompanied by friends, and denounced that the Mayor was confined at the Thuilleries by National guards, who pretended to keep

keep him as a hostage for the security of the Palace against the attempts of the people. The Members of the Assembly, who, awakened by the alarm bell and the drums, had one after another, from one o'clock in the morning*, been collecting in the Hall, finding that there was a sufficient number of them to proceed to business, decreed that the Mayor should be called to the Bar, to give an account of the state of the Capital, and of the measures he had taken for preserving the public peace. This decree was instantly carried to the Palace, and the grenadiers did not dare to prevent the execution of it. *Petion*, very eager to submit to it, appeared at the Bar, and informed the Legislative Body of all the means he had used to disperse the crowds that had begun to gather in the Fauxbourgs, and to prevent the alarm bell from being rung. The Assembly, satisfied with his conduct, granted him the honours of the Sitting, and then dismissed him to exercise his functions; but he, instead of returning to the Palace, whither those loudly directed him, went out by the

* At the time *Petion's* agent denounced his situation, it was half after two o'clock.

Court of the Feuillans, and repaired to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, where he was put under a guard of 300 men, who, on pretence of attending to his safety, suffered nobody either to speak to him or to see him the whole day, and consequently made it impossible for him to give any order.

It was not enough that the *Commune* had thus rendered *Petion* of no use, it was necessary for them to get rid of the order which he had given in writing to repel force by force. This order was in the hands of the Commandant, *Mandat*, who had given duplicates of it to the superior officers. A message was dispatched to him enjoining him to appear immediately before the Municipality to give an account of his conduct. He answered at first that circumstances were in too critical a situation to allow him to leave his post for a single instant. He was immediately sent for again in terms still more pressing. The *Procureur-Syndic* of the Department, and the two Municipal officers who were at the Thuilleries, ignorant perhaps of the new formation of the *Commune*, represented to *Mandat*, that as he was called upon by the Civil Power, under the immediate authority of which the Con-

stitution had placed him, no reason whatever could excuse him from going to receive their orders. The unfortunate *Mandat* seemed to forebode the fate that awaited him; he shuddered, took leave of the friends about him, and, accompanied only by an *Aid-de-camp*, went to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, where, on being brought before the new Municipal officers, he wondered at not seeing among them a single face that was known to him. He was questioned as to the orders he had given, and the measures he had taken to disperse without bloodshed the bodies that were collecting. He was accused of a design of firing upon the people. *Mandat*, stupified with all he saw and heard, hesitated and faltered. The Municipality ordered him to be carried to the *Abbaye*; but he had hardly reached the steps of the *Hotel-de-Ville*, when he was known and massacred. He was the first victim of the 10th of August; and, after the order which he had received from *Petion* was taken out of his pocket, his body was thrown into the Seine. The chief command of the National Guard was immediately given provisionally to *Santerre*, who on this occasion had redoubled his audacity and atrocity, in order to recover the confidence

dence of the Jacobins, and had succeeded in dissipating their suspicions. The New Commune then proceeded to appoint another Staff for the National Guard, on the pretence of seeing that it was pure, and of associating with *Santerre* officers as patriotic as himself. The King spent a sleepless night, sometimes in his own room, sometimes in the Council-Chamber, where the Ministers were assembled, and were constantly receiving fresh intelligence of what was passing out of doors, which they communicated to his Majesty, consulting at the same time with the *Procureur-Syndic* of the Department on the means of saving the Royal Family. At other moments the King retired with his Confessor, the Abbé *Hebert*, and supplicated Heaven for the courage and resignation he stood in need of, and he found both in the suggestions of a pure conscience, and in the sublimest sentiments of religion. The Queen, who was as unconcerned for her own danger, as alive and anxious respecting all that might affect the King, frequently went to his room and to her children's, accompanied by Madame *Elizabeth*, and then returned to the Council-chamber, where the presence of mind, the greatness, and the

intrepidity she displayed, even in the slightest things she said, excited both the astonishment and admiration of the Ministers, and of the *Procureur-Syndic* of the Department. The divine countenance of Madame *Elizabeth* expressed her sisterly tenderness, her grief, her piety, and all the virtues of her angelic soul. Her looks were often raised to Heaven in prayer for the safety of the King; and they doubly animated the enthusiasm and fidelity of all those around her on whom she happened to fix them.

At five in the morning the Queen ordered her children to be awakened and brought to her, to accompany the King in visiting the posts within the Palace, that the sight of all the Royal Family together might support the spirits of the noble fellows who were to defend them. This step, with the marks of confidence and affection which their Majesties bestowed on the National Guard, produced a very good effect: the soldiers were highly charmed, and expressed the best intentions. At six o'clock the King went down to the Courts, attended by three or four General officers; and the moment he appeared all was in motion, the shout of *Vive*
le.

le Roi! was given by the first who saw him; it was taken up by the National Guards, and, resounding through the Palace, inspired hope and joy: but the Artillery and the battalion of the *Croix-rouge* answered it with the shout of *Vive la Nation!*

The King was in the Courts when two other battalions, still worse disposed than that of the *Croix-rouge*, came in. There were men armed with pikes mixed in their ranks, and they as well as the Artillery shouted *Vive la Nation! Vive Petion!* They were marched into the garden, and stationed on the Terrace opposite that of the Feuillans. That which was before the Palace was occupied by the battalions most to be depended upon, and particularly by those of the *Filles St. Thomas* and of the *Petits Peres*: there the King was received with the most affecting demonstrations of attachment. The grenadiers drew close about him; and at their solicitation his Majesty went to review the reserve, who were posted at the *Pont-tournant*. It was not without danger that he crossed the garden: the villains with pikes, who had joined the two disaffected battalions just come, might have had the most wicked designs, but they

contented themselves with crying as loud as they could, *Down with the Veto! Down with the traitor!* When the King had returned to the Palace, these two battalions marched out of the garden through the gate facing the *Pont-Royal*, took their cannon with them, and drew themselves up along the railing to wait for the rebels, and to join them. The same thing was done, and almost at the same moment, in the Royal Court by the two other battalions just arrived: they separated, and a great number of the foldiers belonging to them went off with two cannon and fixed themselves in the square of the *Caroussel*, where they stopped the fresh battalions coming to reinforce the guard of the Palace, thus commencing hostilities against it. The pretext for this defection was, that the Swifs had determined to fire upon the people in case of an attack, and that the Palace was full of gentlemen, to whom they gave the odious appellation of *Chevaliers of the dagger*.

The army of the rebels began to march at six o'clock in the morning. Every account that was brought confirmed their approach. There were about 15,000 men in the body, which had formed in the *Fauxbourg*

bourg St. Antoine. They were armed with pikes or muskets taken from the Arsenal, which had been forced. The body from the Fauxbourg St. Marcel was much fewer in number; but both were more than doubled by the brigands, who were constantly joining them, and by the crowd of men and women, old and young, led by curiosity to follow them.

The King sent the Minister of Justice to inform the Assembly, that as the commotion in the Capital was becoming more and more alarming, his Majesty wished for his own security, and particularly for that of his family, that the Legislative Body would send a deputation as soon as possible to the Palace. The Assembly knew the alarming state of the Capital as well as the King, but they thought it became their dignity to take no notice of it; and at the most terrible Revolutionary crisis that had yet happened, they were coolly spending the time in idle debates on the gradual abolition of the slave trade, when every moment should have been marked with the most vigorous efforts of the Legislative Body to avert the horrid event that was about to annihilate the

L 4 Constitution,

Constitution, which they had sworn to maintain as long as they lived.

While the Assembly were considering the King's message, the gentlemen who had passed the night in the Palace, and the officers of the disbanded Constitutional guard who had joined them, formed themselves into two companies, under the command of *Marschal de Mailly*. One of these companies, commanded by *M. de Puysegur*, a Lieutenant General, and *M. de Pont-L'Abbé*, a Field Marschal, was placed in the King's anti-chamber, the *Oeil-de-Beuf*; the other, commanded by the *Baron de Viomenil*, a Lieutenant General, and *M. D'Hervilly*, formerly Commander of the Constitutional Guard, was stationed in the great gallery that led to the Dauphin's apartments. These brave and faithful Royalists, having no arms but their swords, were too few in number to make an effectual resistance against thousands of brigands, but they were nevertheless resolved to shed the very last drop of their blood in defending the lives of the Royal Family, and in the enthusiasm of so generous a resolution, they estimated their strength by their valour, and thought

thought themselves invincible. The formation of this noble phalanx, and the purity of the sentiments with which they were animated, excited the admiration and love of all who saw them. Several National grenadiers, eager to partake their glory and their danger, joined in their ranks. For this the King and Queen expressed their satisfaction to them in such warm terms, that all of them, greatly affected, charged their muskets at once, as regularly as if the word of command had been given, and with a determined air, calculated to inspire confidence. The same spirit pervaded all the National Guards at the posts within the Palace; they considered the gentlemen who had volunteered their service as their comrades, and they shook hands with one another, crying *Vive la Garde Nationale!* but, unhappily, those stationed at the posts on the outside were not of the same mind; jealous of the gentlemen who had assembled in the Palace, they wished and requested that they should be sent away. This request being brought to their Majesties by the Commander of a legion (*Belair*), the Queen answered him in these words: “ No-
“ thing shall separate us from those gentle-
“ men;

“ men ; they are our most faithful friends.
“ They will share the dangers of the Na-
“ tional Guards ; they will be under your
“ command : order them to the cannon’s
“ mouth, and they will show you how they
“ die for their King.”

The rebels, openly protected and seconded by the new *Commune**, had no farther obstacle to fear in their march : their formidable bodies advanced faster towards the Palace and a little before eight o’clock the vanguard arrived at the *Place du Carrousel*. The *Procureur-Syndic* of the Department endeavoured in vain to convince these furics that so great a multitude could not have access either to the King or the Assembly, and that they ought, according to the Constitution, to name twenty deputies to present their petition ; they would hardly listen to him. On his calling upon the troops to defend their post conformably to the law, and to repel force by force in case of attack, he was attended to only by a small part of the National Guard ; but the

* It was by their order that the strong force which had been placed at the Pont-neuf to prevent a communication of the crowds assembled on the different sides of the river was entirely removed.

Artillery,

Artillery, whom he only exhorted to be orderly, made him no other answer than that of unloading their guns before his eyes. The *Procureur-Syndic*, finding that no dependence was to be placed on the troops stationed to guard the Palace, and that they were much less disposed to defend it than to join the assailants, went immediately at the head of the Directory, and desired to speak with their Majesties in private. The King received them in his chamber, in presence only of the Queen and the Ministers. *Roederer* informed them, from certain intelligence which he had just received, that the danger was imminent and beyond all expression; that the greater part of the National Guard was corrupted and would fire upon the Palace; that the King, the Queen, their children, and every body about them would certainly be killed, unless the King immediately went to the National Assembly. The Queen at first decidedly opposed this step. "Would you be answerable then, Madam," replied *Roederer*, "for the death of the King, of your children, and of all the faithful servants waiting here to defend you?"—"Oh!" cried their
their

their Majesties with one accord, “ *May we be the only victims!*”

The *Procureur-Syndic*'s remark instantly conquered all objections, all repugnance, and the King determined to follow his advice. As he was setting out for the Assembly, his Majesty addressed the Ministers and other persons around him with this expression: *Come, gentlemen, there is nothing more to be done here.* I am particular in stating these words, because they show the injustice of those who have dared to reproach the King with having thought only of his own safety, and with leaving orders to defend the Palace to the last extremity if it was attacked, and of course to fire upon the people. Is it not absurd to suppose that the King, who had been induced to go to the Assembly only by the reflection of the dangers to which they who had come to defend him would be exposed if he remained in the Palace, was capable of desiring they should be exposed to the same danger for the preservation of his furniture? His Majesty imagining that the Palace would not be attacked after he left it, did not think it was necessary to give positive orders for the

Swift

Swifs to quit it, but the words *there is nothing more to be done here* very clearly implied, that his Majesty's intention was, that there should be no resistance in case of an attack.

The Royal Family crossed the garden of the Thuilleries between two columns formed by the Swifs grenadiers and those of the battalions of the *Petits Peres* and of the *Filles St. Thomas*; but they were stopped on the terrace of the Feuillans by the immense populace collected there, who were brutal enough to shock his Majesty's ears with loud insults and horrible threats. It was a quarter of an hour before the Directory of the Department could prevail on the mob to make way for the Royal Family to go to the Assembly, and then it was on condition that they should leave the guard who escorted them at the door. At that instant, a man of a most hideous countenance, who was seen at the head of all the insurrections, stepped out of the crowd, and yielding to the irresistible charm beaming from the interesting countenance and manners of the Dauphin, whom the Queen held by the hand, took him up, saying brutally to her Majesty, "Don't be afraid, I don't mean to hurt
"him;"

“ him ;” and carried him in his arms into the Hall of the Assembly, where he put him down on the table, and then returned to his station on the Terrace.

The Assembly were still deliberating on sending a Deputation to the Palace, when one of the Municipal officers, who had been there all night, and had accompanied their Majesties, came to announce that the King and Queen, with their family, the Ministers, and the Directory of the Department, desired to come in. The Assembly once more sent the Deputation of Ceremony to meet the King, and this was the last respect paid to Royalty.

Their Majesties entered, accompanied by the Minister for Foreign Affairs (*Bigot de St. Croix*), and the Minister of the Marine (*Dubouchage*), and going first to the seats appropriated to the Ministers, the King addressed the Assembly in these few words :
“ I come here to avert a great crime, and I
“ think, Gentlemen, that I can no where
“ be safer than among you.”

Guadet, who at the time filled the President's chair, answered : “ Sire, you may
“ depend upon the firmness of the National
“ Assembly, whose Members have sworn
“ to

“ to die to maintain the rights of the people and the Constituted Authorities.” The King then went to take his seat by the President; but an observation being made that, according to the Constitution, the Legislative Body could enter on no deliberation in presence of his Majesty, the Assembly decided that the King and Royal Family should go into a private box, situated behind the President’s chair, whither their Majesties retired*.

The framers of the Constitution did not foresee that it would one day reduce the King, driven from his Palace by the populace, to the dreadful necessity of flying to the Hall of the National Assembly for an asylum against assassins. Had they conceived that such would be the consequence of their rash ignorance, they would doubtless have assigned for *the Hereditary Representative of the Nation* and his family a more convenient place than the wretched little box of newspaper reporters; and, far from prohibiting the Legislative Body from

* This box was the one occupied by the agents of the editor of a newspaper, called *The Logographe*, and was but ten feet square and six feet high.

deliberating

deliberating in the King's presence, they would have strictly bound them not to enter without him on deliberations, all of which should tend to the safety of his Majesty's person, and the maintenance of the Constitution. They would have been sensible that that could not have been saved in so violent a crisis but by the most perfect harmony between the two Constitutional Powers, and the union of all their efforts, and would have prescribed it as an obligation*.

When their Majesties were placed in the box of the *Logographe*, the Directory of the Department were introduced at the Bar, where the *Procureur-Syndic* gave an account of the state of the Capital, and of the inutility of the measures which he and his colleagues had taken for restoring order and peace. He was concluding his report, when intelligence was brought that the Palace had been forced, and that the rebels meant to batter it down with their cannon.

* Why am I forced by truth to say, that this obligation would have been ill discharged by the majority of the Legislative Body? Almost all the Members of that majority were also the majority of the Convention, where they proved but too clearly that the King would have found among them fewer defenders than assassins.

The

The Commander of the guard who had remained in it appeared at the Bar to ask what steps he was to take. The Assembly, who had been so often heard shouting *the Constitution or death*, while that exclamation was nothing more than a vain and ridiculous rhodomontade, took great care not to repeat it on this occasion; and instead of vigorous measures, which the safety of the State required, they only declared that they placed property and persons under the safeguard of the people of Paris, and appointed fifteen Deputies to go and carry this decree*.

Scarcely were these Deputies named when the firing of cannon was heard, and spread consternation throughout the Assembly. As they did not know from which party it came, there might be some apprehension of the
the

* To whom was this decree to be carried? Was it to the people composed of the brigands, who at that time were cutting the throats of men, and injuring and burning property, or to the honest and peaceable citizens, who had shut themselves up at home through horror at the crimes they were committing? The former would have replied to it by the cannon mouth, the latter by regretting their inability. With better intentions and less cowardice the Assembly, true to the oath of defying death for the maintenance of the Constitution,

the cannonade being directed against the Hall, and the fear of it was painted on the discomposed countenances of most of the Deputies. The President endeavoured in vain to compose them by putting them in mind that they were at their post, where very few of them would have remained had there been less danger in deserting it. An account was soon brought that the Swifs were engaging, on which several Members demanded that they should be forbidden to fire. An order to that effect was given in writing by the King, and he signed another forbidding the Swifs, who were at Courbevoye to advance towards Paris. Another discharge of cannon, followed by a rolling fire of small arms, now shook the Hall and augmented the terror of the Assembly and galleries. The Deputies sent to the people

tion, would not have hesitated to send a hundred of their Members, under a sufficient escort, to the *Hotel-de-Ville* to dissolve and arrest the 'New Commune, annul all their acts, reinstate the former Municipality, proclaim martial law, and cause the forty-eight battalions of the National Guard to march against the rebels. This step would not have been without danger, but it was evidently the only one that could screen the Assembly from censure, and the vigour of it might have ensured its success.

with

with the decree that put persons and property under their protection, returning at the same moment, declared that they had been dispersed by the crowd in the Court of the Riding-house, and finding it impossible to discharge their commission, had thought it their duty to return to their post. As they were finishing their account, a great number of the National Guards were seen forcing themselves in at one of the doors of the Hall. Several Deputies flew to meet them, and represented to them that nobody was permitted to enter armed into the place where the Legislative Body held their Sittings. The rest of the Members rose in a tumultuous manner, and hurried to the opposite door. The most violent agitation pervaded the Assembly. The President put on his hat; the Deputies all cried *Vive la Nation*, and the National Guards agreed to withdraw. But as the crowd about the Hall was increasing every moment, and as the box in which the Royal Family were might be broken into, the iron grating that separated it from the Assembly was removed.

The two companies of the Swiss Guards, the 300 men of the best battalion of the National Guard, who had escorted the

Royal Family to the Assembly, and the gentlemen whose attachment had carried them after their Majesties, did not return to the Palace, by which the guard of it was weakened, and in some sort disorganised, and the zeal of most of those who composed it was also cooled by the King's unexpected departure. I do not in that number include those Royalists distinct from the National Guards, and who had remained with them to wait the King's return, not to defend the Palace, for nobody imagined it would be attacked in his Majesty's absence. The armies of the Fauxbourgs soon filled the Square of the *Caroussel*, where they drew up in order of battle; nor had their motions at first that violent precipitation which usually foreruns the great outrages of an insurrection. The most blood-thirsty villains had got together in the Court of the Feuillans, to do justice in their way to twenty-two persons, whom the patrols had arrested separately during the night in the environs of the Thuilleries, and who, on hearing the alarm-bell and drums, had come out, some through fear, others through curiosity, armed with swords and pistols for their own defence. They had been carried to the Section

tion of the Feuillans ; and it was reported among the people that they were a false patrol who had been arrested. Eleven of them, who had been shut up in a separate room, made their escape at day-break by jumping out of the windows. At seven o'clock in the morning the mob collected in the Court of the Feuillans were calling out for the false patrol. A Municipal officer got up on a tressel to harangue them, and to persuade them to withdraw, by promising that the guilty should be delivered up to the rigour of the laws. He was answered by dreadful halloos, accused of encouraging false patrols, and compelled to retire. A woman, or rather a monster, took his place on the tressel, and, more blood-thirsty than any of her hearers, exhorted them to persist in the resolution of massacring the prisoners. This woman, who had before distinguished herself in the Revolution by several acts of ferocity, was the famous *Theroigne de Mericourt*. She was this day dressed in a riding habit of the national colours, and wore a sword in a cross-belt. She made the brigands about her name some Commissioners, at the head of whom she went and informed the Committee of the Section that

the sovereign people demanded that the prisoners should be delivered up to them. The person then President of that Committee was no other than *Bonjour*, the identical clerk whom I had dismissed from the Navy Office, and who, although he had about 200 soldiers of the National Guard at his command, made no resistance *against the will of the people*. The prisoners were therefore given up to them; and of the remaining eleven, only two had the good fortune to escape by mixing with the crowd. The other nine had their throats cut; their heads were severed from their bodies; the latter were exposed in the Square *Vendome*, and the former all carried on pikes about the streets in triumph.

At nine o'clock two carriages, loaded with powder and ball, being arrived in the Square of the *Caroussel*, the Commander of the rebel army knocked at the door of the Royal Court, and desired it might be opened, which was refused. The different motions then observed among the rebels no longer left a doubt of their being resolved to attack the Palace. Immediately on this, the gentlemen under the command of *Marschal de Mailly*, the National Guards and the

the Swifs, who were in separate rooms, assembled at the different posts assigned them, and determined to repel force by force, in spite of the immense superiority in number of the assailants*.

By ten minutes after nine the gates of the Royal Court were beat down, and the people rushed in without meeting any resistance. The leader of the Marseillois entered first with a pistol in his hand, and was followed by his troop, whom he drew up in two squares about the Court; after which, the artillery-men removed the six cannon from the two sides, and pointed them on the Palace. The people, finding themselves so powerfully supported, cried out, *Down with the Swifs, down arms!* The National Guards and the Swifs at the windows answered these cries, not by signals of friendship, as it has been said, but by motions of their hands or hats, which only expressed a wish that the multitude would retire, and could mean nothing else.

The determined appearance of the Swifs who were at the foot of the staircase kept the assassins from approaching it for nearly a

* They were more than fifty to one.

quarter of an hour, during which they did not dare to pass the middle of the Court. At last, some brigands armed with long pikes that had hooks to them, advanced as far as the great door of the Palace, with an officer of the National Guard at their head. They hooked the first centinel that appeared at the door and drew him to them, and they did the same with four or five more one after the other, whom they instantly disarmed, bursting out into a horse laugh. Emboldened by this success, the multitude pushed forward in a crowd to the bottom of the great staircase, and with clubs murdered the disarmed centinels. Then it was that the Swiss at this post, seeing their comrades massacred, determined to engage on the steps, and executed *for the first time* the order of repelling force by force. Their first fire killed and wounded several of the assassins, and the rest fled precipitately. At the same instant, the officer of the National Guard, who had put himself at the head of the body of rebels that came into the Court, vexed no doubt at losing time, fired a pistol towards the Palace: this was returned by firing some guns from the windows, and immediately three cannon were

were discharged from the *Caroufel* with so much hurry, and so awkwardly, that the balls struck the farthest end of the roof.

These facts, the truth of which is indisputable, leave no doubt of the injustice of the reproach cast upon the Swiss of having been the aggressors on this day. Had they fired on the rebels when the gates of the Royal Court were forced, they would only have repelled force by force; but at that time they made no use of their arms against their assailants, nor till roused to revenge the death of their massacred comrades. The first blood spilt was that of the Swiss, so that far from considering them as aggressors, they might much more justly be blamed for having so long delayed to repel the assailants.

The first fire of the Swiss not only put to flight the brigands who had ventured into the vestibule of the Palace, it spread so much terror in the Courts, that they were evacuated, and appeared covered with grenadiers' caps, guns, and pikes of the flying rebels. The artillery men themselves deserted their cannon, and followed the crowd to the square of the *Caroufel*. The Swiss then went into the Courts, and taking possession

session of the deserted cannon, placed them again before the great door of the Palace; after which sixty of them formed a square battalion at the gate of the Royal Court, where, seconded by the National guards and Swifs, who fired from the windows of the gallery of the *Louvre* on the *Caroussel*, they kept up a rolling fire so well directed, that the army of the faction was very soon dispersed, and nothing was to be seen in the square but dead and wounded, and four cannon left behind by the flying rebels. Those worthy patriots, pale, trembling, and covered with blood and dust, were running off through every passage as fast as their legs could carry them. The quays and boulevards were choked up by them. Two Federates of Brest who had kept on their red uniform, galloping down the *Rue St. Honoré*, were taken for Swifs, and massacred by the people. Another detachment of the Swifs guards at the same time seized three cannon at the door of the Riding-house, and removed them to the iron gate of the Palace, leading to the terrace in the garden; but they could make no use of them, for want of ammunition and proper implements. This affair was extremely bloody

bloody on both sides; the Swifs lost thirty men by it.

A new body of rebels being collected before the gate of the Princes' Court, and having fired a cannon loaded with cannister shot, eighty Swifs and some National guards marched to the place, where they began another fire, which killed a number of people, and entirely silenced the fire of the assailants. The Gentlemen who were waiting for the King's return to the Palace having no fire arms, had staid in the apartments. When the firing began, they assembled in the hall of the Queen's guards, to consider what they were to do, and half an hour passed before they determined on going to the King. They collected all the Swifs, and some National guards who were in that part of the Palace, and to the number of about 500 persons, proceeded to the garden, which they could not enter but by pulling down a small iron gate, about thirty paces from the disaffected battalions, who were at the gate leading to the Pont-Royal; and what rendered the outlet more dangerous was, that only one at a time could go through it. Two Swifs soldiers, who were the first out, were shot, and the rest of the

the party were forced to pass over their bodies. There was a continued fire of musquetry, from different points, kept up on them, and chiefly directed at the Swifs, who were known by their regimentals. M. *de Clermont d'Amboise* and M. *de Casteja* were the only gentlemen killed at this passage. The Baron *de Viomesnil* was wounded in the thigh*. The National guards who were in this party when they left the Palace, quitted them to join their own battalions. The Swifs and gentlemen, rallied by the Duke *de Choiseul*, amid the fire of the cannon of the *Pont-Neuf* and *Pont-Tournant*, were received at the bottom of the steps leading to the Feuillans with so brisk a discharge of small arms, that they found it impossible to get up to the terrace. The Duke *de Choiseul* thinking they were following him, opened a way for himself, sword in hand, to the door of the Hall, where, dismayed as well as surpris'd at finding himself alone, he took the advice given him by a Deputy (*Merlin*) to put up his sword, and go and take his post near the King in the box of the *Logographe*.

* He died three weeks after of this wound.

The

The rest of the Swiss and gentlemen went on by the side of the trees towards the *Champs-Elizées*, hoping to find some faithful troop whom they might join, or to be able to disperse more easily; but a fresh discharge obliged them to make for the Greenhouse terrace, by which they took the way to the *Garde-Meubles*, with the view of escaping by the boulevards or by the *Champs-Elizées*, or of taking shelter in houses that might be open. The unfortunate Swiss thus driven about, and all their ammunition spent, in vain sought their safety in flight. Marked by their uniform, they were pursued with the most barbarous inveteracy, and wherever they went met assassins. When they left the Palace, their number amounted to three hundred, but very few escaped*. A great number of gentlemen met the same fate. Several owed their safety to the bold hospitality of the Venetian Ambassador, M. *Pisani*, who, notwithstanding the risk he

* When the brigands had no more of the Swiss in uniform to massacre, those monsters turned their fury against the Swiss of the Hotels, who would all have met the fate of their brave and unfortunate countrymen, had they been less expeditious than they were in putting off their belts, and leaving their places.

ran of forfeiting his privilege to screen these loyal chevaliers from the assassins, received all who came to his Hotel, and let them out one by one under various disguises. Those who had the good fortune to get home, went without their swords, and several with great coats lent to them at different houses.

While these murders were deluging with blood the *Place de Louis XV.* the *Rue Royale*, and the *Champs-Elizées*, the *Marfeillois*, the *Federates*, and the brigands of the *Fauxbourgs*, had returned to the *Carrousel* with large reinforcements, and more cannon, which were fired on the Palace for near a quarter of an hour, without doing any mischief to it, except some of the roof. Great crowds went to the gates of the Courts, and attempted to enter; but they were again repulsed by the fire from the windows of the gallery of the Louvre, and by the small guard that defended those posts. It was at this moment that the Assembly, terrified at the long resistance made by the guard of the Palace, lamented that the Swifs had not had orders not to fire. *M. Dubouchage*, the Minister of the Marine, declared that the order had been given, on which there was a general demand that it should be repeated.

repeated. The difficulty, however, was to have any order whatever conveyed to the Palace while the continual fire of the besiegers and besieged prevented any one's approaching it. The King, who flattered himself that this new instance of goodness and confidence would induce the Assembly to treat him with more consideration, was extremely unhappy at not being able to send the order.

M. *d'Hervilly* being in the box of the *Logographe* with the Royal Family, offered to carry the order, determined, at the same time, to make use of it in the manner most conducive to the safety of the Royal Family. The King and Queen were greatly affected at this proof of attachment; but unwilling to expose the life of one of their most valuable and faithful servants, they seized his arm to prevent him from withdrawing, pressing his hand affectionately in theirs. Madame *Elizabeth* was impressed with the same sentiments; and all three, with tears in their eyes, entreated him not to go. M. *d'Hervilly*, whose zeal was only the more animated by such distinguishing marks of regard, renewed his demand with earnestness.

“ I entreat

“ I entreat your Majesties not to think of the danger,” said he ; “ it is my duty to brave it for your service. My post is *aux coups de fusil* ; and if I feared them, I should be unworthy of the name of a foldier.”

These words, pronounced in a manner the most capable of inspiring confidence, and the murmurs which the King’s irresolution excited in the Assembly, at length determined his Majesty to write the order, and deliver it to *M. d’Hervilly*.

M. de Vauzlemont, a young officer of the artillery, full of courage and ardour, who had belonged to the King’s guard under the command of *M. d’Hervilly*, was at the door of the box, and a witness to the above scene. He was that day in the uniform of the National grenadiers, which he always wore on those occasions, when he thought it most expedient for the King’s service. This gallant young man begged to be permitted to accompany his commanding officer, and to share his dangers ; but *M. d’Hervilly* expressly forbade him, saying that his post was at the door of the King’s box, which he ought not to quit. In spite of this, he persisted in following *M. d’Hervilly*,

d'Hervilly, and shewed himself worthy of being his companion. When they arrived at the door of the Hall, next to the convent of the Theatins, the National guards and armed mob there assembled, recognizing *M. d'Hervilly* by his uniform of *Marschal de Camp*, seized and began to insult him with horrid imprecations. *M. de Vauzlemont*, who was listened to on account of his uniform, assured them that *M. d'Hervilly* was the bearer of an order for the Swiss guard to give over firing. They let him go, on his shewing him his order.

“ Look sharp after him, *camarade*,” said they to *M. de Vauzlemont*, “ for you shall answer for him:”

This danger was nothing in comparison of those which still awaited *M. d'Hervilly*. Hardly had he gained the street, than he met a detachment of the National guards and of the Sections, who, as soon as they knew him, fired upon him, but fortunately without injuring him. When he had gone on about two hundred paces farther, he was again fired at, and had again the good luck to escape. At the entry into the *Carrousel*, he was seized by two of the National guards. He knocked one to the

PART II. VOL. III. N ground;

ground; the other ran off, after thrusting a bayonet, which he had in his hand, into *M. d'Hervilly's* thigh, and leaving it there. *M. d'Hervilly* having plucked it out, proceeded, notwithstanding the wound, to the court of the Swifs, still accompanied by *M. de Vauzlemont*. They were for a moment exposed to a cross fire of musquetry and grape shot from the Palace and *Carrousel*, but arrived unhurt at the court of the Swifs, whose courage seemed to be re-animating by the sight of *M. d'Hervilly*, who, instead of making any mention of the King's order, immediately began to examine how he could best prolong the defence of that place, so as to gain time for the Royalists within the Palace to join the Swifs, who were in number about two hundred and fifty, and whom, he expected, might still be joined by the well-disposed National guards, and in all make up such a force as would have enabled him to repel the insurgents, and to re-establish the Royal Family in the Palace. He had hopes that the majority of the Parisians would then have declared for the King, and would have expressed their abhorrence of the authors of the insurrection; in which event he would

would never have been blamed for not having made use of the King's order; and if matters had turned out otherwise, he alone would have been answerable, as in that case he was determined to produce the order, which would have screened his Majesty from all blame.

In pursuance of this plan, having posted the Swifs and the cannon in the most advantageous manner for defending the courts, he proceeded to the Palace, attended by M. *Vauzlemont*; but in a narrow passage, which led to one of the back stairs, he again escaped being killed by a pistol shot from a National guard, who lurked in a dark corner. Having thrust his sword through the body of this cowardly assassins, he walked on: but as he ascended the stair, the tumult and horrible shrieks he heard obliged him to stop; and he was informed by a Swifs, who came down stairs, that an immense armed populace had penetrated into the Palace by the gallery of the Louvre, and were massacring every one they met in their way. The Swifs being evidently too few to continue the defence of the Palace on the side of the *Caroussel*, and to repel the numbers who had rushed in, M. *d'Hervilly* was forced to

abandon his project, which would have devoted to certain death so many brave soldiers, whose numbers diminished every instant, while their courage continued unimpaired. He hastened to join them, notified the King's order, and commanded them to follow him to the National Assembly, where the King and Royal Family were. As the attack was made by the *Carrousel* and Louvre, the only remaining way was by the garden of the Thuilleries; but even there they had no sooner appeared, than they were exposed to the fire of the cannon everywhere planted in it, and of the troops on the different terraces. On leaving the Palace, their number amounted to a hundred, but only sixty reached the Assembly. They were carried to the Guard-house of the Feuillans, where they received an order from the King to give up their arms, change their clothes, and repair to the barracks at Courbevoye. Their clothes were given to the populace, who tore them up to share the pieces, which the brigands fixed in their hats, to their bayonets, and their pikes, bearing them in triumph through the streets, as trophies of their victory.

M. d'Her-

M. d'Hervilly had been able to take with him only the Swifs who were in the Courts; those who were at the posts within retreated to the great staircase, to the number of about eighty, and there defended themselves with the greatest courage for more than a quarter of an hour: they fell every man on the spot, after slaying at least 400 of the rebels. The assailants, transported with rage, then went up into the apartments, and with the most horrible barbarity butchered all the Swifs they found there, although they made no resistance, and although several begged on their knees to be spared; of the latter some were thrown still living out of the windows. Seventeen of them who had taken refuge in the Vestry in vain cried *Vive la nation!* and laid down their arms, of which they had made no use; they were immediately massacred. About a hundred of these unfortunate soldiers attempted to escape by the Court *de Marfan*; they were soon in the midst of an immense and furious crowd, who called *Down arms!* They surrendered without resistance, thinking to appease the people by their submission; eighty of them, however, were massacred in the *Rue de l'Echelle*, where

their bodies, stripped of their clothes, remained in a heap for two days, after having been mutilated in a manner too shocking and indecent to mention. The others had the good fortune to escape by running into shops, cellars, and under staircases, &c. They were afterwards furnished with clothes to enable them to get away unknown. Of these several remained three days without nourishment. Another detachment of 80 Swifs, being a part of those who had passed through the Green-house Court, were on their way to Courbevoye under the command of four officers, and had proceeded as far as the *Champs-Elizées*, when they were overtaken and surrounded by the Horse-Gendarmerie, who at the commencement of the attack on the Palace had joined the brigands. The people soon came up and seized the soldiers, whom they conducted to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, promising to save their lives; but the moment they came to the *Place-de-Greve* they were torn to pieces by the populace.

The number of the Swifs guards saved either in private houses or the Guard-house of the Feuillans, amounted to no more than 180: about 750, without reckoning their officers,

officers, were slaughtered*. Among their assassins were seen monsters drinking draughts of blood, and women, still more savage, with knives in their hands, seizing the naked and palpitating bodies, and perpetrating with diabolical delight horrors that no barbarism, no disgusting impurity of imagination ever before offered to the sight of man.

The brigands having made themselves masters of the Palace, vented their rage indiscriminately on all the persons they found there; the door-keepers, the porters, and even the servants of the lowest class were all butchered with equal fury †. The blood running in streams, the dead bodies lying about, and the furniture broken and thrown out of the windows, raised the dreadful

* From the massacre of this day, and those of the 2d and 3d of September following, only thirteen altogether escaped.

† The only persons spared were Mesdames *De Tarente*, *De la Roche-aymon*, and *De Ginesfoes*, Mademoiselle *De Tourzel*, and the Queen's waiting maids, who had all taken refuge in her Majesty's apartment, where a detachment of the National Guards took them under their protection and saved them. The Princess *de Lamballe* and Madame *De Tourzel* had followed the Royal Family to the Assembly, and were with their Majesties in the box of the Logographe.

image of death and devastation through all the apartments of the Palace.

The news of the victory of the people, and of their being completely masters of the Palace was confirmed to the Assembly by some of the brigands, who came fresh from the commission of these crimes to make them an offering, on the part of the people, of papers, jewels, louis-d'ors, and assignats, taken from the escrutoires belonging to the King and Queen, which had been broken open: the Assembly expressed their great satisfaction at patriotism so pure, and decreed that all those effects should be lodged with the Commune.

Several deputations, composed of persons of the lowest class of the people, appeared successively at the Bar, saying they were sent by their Sections to demand the deposition of the King, *as the only means of preventing the fatal alteration long planned by a treacherous Court, who were playing the fool with the French people.* "Dare," said these ragged orators, "to swear that you will save the Empire, and the Empire is saved." On which the Deputies all holding up their hands at once cried out, "We swear it!"

At

At last a deputation from the new Commune appeared at the Bar with three banners, on which were the words, Country, Equality, Liberty, and gave notice of their appointment, as called for by the dangers of the country. “ The people have placed
 “ their confidence in us,” added the speaker,
 “ and we will justify it by our zeal. *Petion*,
 “ *Manuel*, and *Danton* are still our col-
 “ leagues. *Santerre* is at the head of the
 “ armed force. The blood of the people
 “ has been spilt; foreign troops, Swiss sol-
 “ diers, whose continuance at Paris is ano-
 “ ther of the crimes of the Executive
 “ Power, have fired upon the citizens:
 “ widows and orphans are calling for their
 “ husbands and their fathers; and we, the
 “ faithful organ of the sentiments and will
 “ of the people, call upon you, in their
 “ name, for the deposition of the chief of
 “ the Executive Power.”

“ You have mentioned *Petion*,” replied the President, “ but *Petion* is confined in his
 “ house, and cannot speak to the people:
 “ you know whether he wishes it or not.
 “ We invite you to countermand the order
 “ which prevents his appearing among his
 “ fellow citizens.”

This

This timid invitation, which was addressed to villains, who having no legal character to authorise their appearing at the Bar, should have been driven from it, was followed by a proclamation, the base supplicating style of which truly shows the cowardice and terror that at this moment prevailed in the Assembly: it was expressed in these words:

“ If the first of the Constituted authorities is still suspected; if the Representatives of the people, who are anxious for their happiness, still retain over them the ascendancy of confidence and of reason, they beseech the citizens, and in the name of the law command them, to countermand the order given at the Hotel-de-Ville, and restore to the sight of the people their beloved magistrate.”

This Assembly, so arrogant and so intrepid in their conduct to the King, trembled before a handful of brigands. They strove in vain to resume a less humiliating state, by frequently renewing, sometimes by acclamation, sometimes on a call of names, the oath of maintaining liberty and equality with all their power, or dying at their post; fear had annihilated all their powers, and their oaths, which were violated with the most

most shameful pusillanimity whenever they were to act, were only a ridiculous rhodomontade. How often had they sworn to maintain the Constitution to their last breath? Scarcely had a few hours passed since their President assured the King *that he might depend upon the firmness of the National Assembly, and that all the Members of it had sworn to die or support the rights of the people and of the Constituted Authorities**; yet at the very moment they gave his Majesty this perfidious assurance, they were preparing to give the last blow to the Constitution, and to complete their conspiracy against the first of the Constituted Authorities! Indeed, the Commission of the Twelve were then framing a decree for the suspension of the King. They no doubt wished to have it considered as a decree *de circonstance*, by bringing it forward at a time when the most furious actors in the bloody scenes going on at the Thuilleries, came at intervals to the Bar of the Assembly to rest from their murders, and to demand, or ra-

* They did not, however, dare to shew the slightest disapprobation of the violent dissolution of the Constitutional Commune of Paris.

ther

ther to order, with the most horrible imprecations and blasphemies, the deposition of the King. “ Know,” said one of them to the Assembly, at the same time shewing his naked and bloody arm, “ that the Thuilleries is on fire*, and that we will not stop it till the vengeance of the people is satisfied. I am charged once more, in the name of the people, to demand of you the deposition of the Executive Power.”

Vergniaux then appeared in the Tribune as Reporter of the Commission of the Twelve, and said, “ I come to propose to you a very vigorous measure; but I appeal to *the grief* you feel, to judge how necessary it is for the safety of the country that you should adopt it immediately.” This was the whole of his report on the most important question the Assembly had ever yet to decide. The decree he proposed, and which they adopted unanimously without the least discussion, was drawn up in the following form:

* The brigands had set fire to the two stables which had been built for the use of the horse guards, and to the buildings which parted the Thuilleries from the square of the Caroussel.

“ The

“ The National Assembly, considering
 “ that the dangers of the country are at
 “ their highest pitch ;

“ That it is the most sacred duty of the
 “ Legislative Body to use every means to
 “ save it ;

“ That it is impossible to find effectual
 “ ones, but by stopping the source of their
 “ evils ;

“ Considering that those evils arise chiefly
 “ from the distrusts created by the conduct
 “ of the Chief of the Executive Power,
 “ in a war undertaken in his name against
 “ the Constitution and National independ-
 “ ence ;

“ That those distrusts have excited in
 “ several parts of the Empire a wish for
 “ the revocation of the authority delegated
 “ to *Louis XVI.* ;

“ Considering, nevertheless, that the Le-
 “ gislative Body neither ought nor wish to
 “ extend their own authority by any usur-
 “ pation ;

“ That in the extraordinary circumstances
 “ into which they have been thrown by
 “ events unprovided for by any of the laws,
 “ they cannot reconcile their fidelity to the
 “ Constitution with their firm resolution of
 burying

“ burying themselves under the ruins of
“ the temple of liberty, rather than suffer
“ it to be destroyed, but by having recourse
“ to the sovereignty of the people, and
“ taking, in the mean time, precautions
“ to prevent that recourse from being ren-
“ dered illusory by treachery, DECREE as
“ follows :

“ Art. 1. The French people are called
“ upon to form a National Convention :
“ the Extraordinary Commission shall pre-
“ sent a plan to-morrow for pointing out
“ the mode and period of this Convention.

“ Art. 2. The Chief of the Executive
“ Power is provisionally suspended from
“ his functions until the National Conven-
“ tion shall determine on the measures they
“ shall think proper to adopt for securing
“ the sovereignty of the people, and the
“ reign of liberty and equality.

“ Art. 3. The Extraordinary Commission
“ shall, in the course of the day, present a
“ plan for forming a new Ministry ; the
“ Ministers actually in office shall provi-
“ sionally continue the exercise of their
“ functions.

“ Art. 4. The Extraordinary Commission
“ shall, in the course of the day, present a
“ plan

“ plan for a decree on the appointment of
 “ a Governor for the Prince Royal.

“ Art. 5. The payment of the Civil List
 “ shall be suspended till the decision of the
 “ National Convention. The Extraordi-
 “ nary Commission shall present a plan in
 “ twenty-four hours for a decree on the
 “ allowance to be granted to the King du-
 “ ring his suspension.

“ Art. 6. The books of the Civil List
 “ shall be deposited on the table of the
 “ National Assembly, being first endorsed
 “ by two Commissioners from the Assem-
 “ bly, who shall go for that purpose to
 “ the office of the Comptroller of the Civil
 “ List.

“ Art. 7. The King and his Family shall
 “ remain near the Legislative Body, until
 “ tranquillity is re-established in Paris.

“ Art. 8. The Department shall give or-
 “ ders for apartments to be prepared for
 “ the King and his family, in the course of
 “ the day, at the Luxembourg, where they
 “ shall be placed under the guard of the
 “ citizens and of the law.

“ Art. 9. Every public functionary, every
 “ soldier, subaltern officer, officer of any
 “ rank whatever, and general of an army,
 “ who

“ who in these days of alarm shall desert
 “ his post, is declared infamous, and a
 “ traitor to his country.

“ Art. 10. The Department and the Mu-
 “ nicipality of Paris shall cause the present
 “ decree to be immediately proclaimed in a
 “ solemn manner.

“ Art. 11. It shall be sent express, by
 “ extraordinary messengers, to the 83 De-
 “ partments, who are required to forward
 “ it in four-and-twenty hours to the Muni-
 “ cipalities in their jurisdiction, to be there
 “ proclaimed with like solemnity.”

After this formal act of perjury, the As-
 sembly decreed an address to the French
 people, to make amends for the laconism
 of the Reporter of the Commission of the
 Twelve, and for the silence of his colleagues
 on the annihilation of the Constitution.
 This address is at least remarkable for being
 an everlasting proof of the enormity of the
 crime committed by those villains in the
 name of the nation. Here the following
 passage will suffice :

“ Long have the Departments been con-
 “ vulsed with tormenting apprehensions ;
 “ long have the people been expecting from
 “ their

“ their Representatives measures that might
 “ save them. *This day the citizens of*
 “ *Paris have declared to the Legislative*
 “ *Body that they are the only authority*
 “ *that has preserved their confidence; and*
 “ the Members of the Assembly have sworn
 “ individually, in the name of the nation,
 “ to maintain liberty and equality, or die at
 “ their post: they will be faithful to their
 “ oath.”

It is proved to demonstration by the facts reported in all the Journals of the time, that there were no apprehensions existing in the Departments, but those that were spread by the factious, who wished to overturn the Constitution and the Monarchy. To have removed those apprehensions, they had only to cease the manœuvres that kept them up.

Long have the people been expecting from their Representatives measures that might save them. Was it to satisfy their expectation that, in spite of the representations of the Directory of the Department, they refused to take any precaution, or give any order for preventing the assembling and arming of the brigands in the night between the 9th and 10th of August? Was it as a measure to save the people, that they passed

a decree which so shamefully violated the Constitution still dear to the people? Was it to justify their confidence, that notwithstanding the general indignation created by the outrages of the 20th of June, they excited and encouraged outrages infinitely more serious against the King, and crowned them by decreeing his suspension?

As for the pretended confidence said by this address to have been expressed by the citizens of Paris on the 10th of August to the Legislative Body, exclusive of the other Constituted Authorities, it is a clumsy falsehood; for the proclamation decreed only an hour before relative to *Petion*, which I have reported, demonstrates that the Assembly were very far from being certain that they preserved the confidence of the people in the slightest degree. All the testimonies that they afterwards received of it, consisted in particular petitions from some artillery-men and brigands of the Fauxbourgs, who went to desire, or rather to command, the deposition of the King in the most menacing tone; but even if all the citizens of Paris had united to declare to the Legislative Body that they had confidence only in them, such a declaration, confined to the Parisians, must have

have been totally unknown to all the other Departments whom the Legislative Body represented, and whose wish* they ought to have consulted before they provisionally annihilated the Monarchy.

Notwithstanding the decree, enacting *the provisional suspension* of the King, new petitioners, ignorant, perhaps, of the meaning of the word suspension, and not having time to have other harangues composed, appeared and demanded more violently than ever the deposition of the Chief of the Executive Power. The President not knowing what reply to make, was assisted by *Vergniaud*, who after paying great compliments to those virtuous citizens on the purity of their sentiments, and on their respect for the laws, explained to them in the gentlest manner, *that the Representatives of the people had done all they were permitted by the powers delegated to them, when they decreed that a National Convention should be appointed to determine the question of deposition; and that, in the mean time, the*

* The wish of the citizens of Paris could only be grounds for some reform in their Municipal code, or some regulation peculiar to the Capital.

suspension pronounced by the Assembly ought to be sufficient to remove from the minds of the people the fear of any treachery from the Executive Power, inasmuch as that suspension rendered it impossible for him to do harm, or even to act in any manner whatever. “From this explanation,” added he, “I hope that the people will have the
“goodness to hear and understand the
“truth; and that as the petitioners possess
“the confidence of the citizens, they will
“go among them and inform them of what
“the Assembly have done, assuring them
“that we will do every thing to save them,
“and that we are ready to die for the people
“and for liberty.”

These illustrations satisfied the petitioners; but could the good sense of the nation be likewise satisfied with them? Was it not well known that there was not a single article in the Constitution that authorized the Legislative Body to convoke a National Convention, or to suspend the King*? If any one of the cases of a presumed abdication,

* The words National Convention, suspension of the Executive Power, were not even to be found in the Constitution.

provided

provided for by the Constitution, had been drawn up and proved, the Assembly might have declared that the King was judged to have abdicated; but there would have ended the powers and the Ministry of the Legislative Body. The rights of the presumptive heir to the Crown would have then commenced: he was a minor, there would have been a regency; the Constitution had foreseen and regulated all this. Had the Legislative Body acted according to it, the Constitutional Monarchy would still have been maintained, and, bad as it was, would certainly have been preferable to the horrors of the anarchy and despotism which succeeded it. Such, in fact, was the plan of the Gironde party, who, after having long ruled among the Jacobins, had lost their influence over them, and had ultimately absented themselves from their Clubs, in the hope of throwing, by that means, a discredit on the measures adopted there, the extreme violence of which counteracted their views. The effect of the event of the 10th of August, the plan of which had been formed and directed by the Girondists, was meant to be extended no farther than to oblige the Assembly to declare that the King was

judged to have abdicated, and to place the Dauphin on the Throne, with a Council of Regency, which the faction would have composed of their own creatures; but they were forcibly carried much farther than they wished to go by the furious impetuosity of the *Dantons*, *Robespierres*, &c. who making themselves masters of the Revolutionary motion, impelled it to the abolition of Royalty.

The forms which the Girondists had prepared beforehand for decrees to regulate the Government that was to be established after pronouncing the King's abdication, almost all served, by only changing some words, for the creation of the Revolutionary Executive Power during his Majesty's suspension. No wonder, then, that those decrees, in a manner ready made, should have been brought forward with such rapidity. The first, consisting of nine articles, declared, that as the Ministers in office did not possess the confidence of the nation, the National Assembly would provide successors for them by an election, in which all the Members should openly and individually give their votes; that none of the new Ministers shall be chosen from the Assembly; and

and that the same mode of election should be followed in the appointment of the Secretary of the Council, and of the Governor for the Prince Royal: the second enacted, that until the formation of the new Ministry, the Committee of the Decrees should be provisionally charged with sending out all the laws and acts of the Legislative Body: a third ordained, that from the 10th of August all the decrees should be printed and published without a preamble, that they should be concluded with the usual mandate, and signed by the Minister of Justice in the name of the nation; that the decrees already passed, and not sanctioned, should have the force of laws, and that the Ministers should together draw up and sign addresses, proclamations, and other acts of the same kind.

While the Assembly were voting these decrees without the least discussion, information was brought that the ferment and assassination* still continued; on which they

* In the long list of the victims of this horrid day, was *M. de Clermont Tonnerre*, one of the Members of the First Assembly most distinguished for his talents, for his errors, and for his endeavours to atone for them. *M. Carle*, Colonel of the Gendarmerie, also lost his life for the proofs of attachment he had given the King.

immediately ordered the following words to be printed and stuck up in large letters on the walls and public places :

The King is suspended; he and his family remain as hostages.

The present Ministry have not the confidence of the nation, and the Assembly are going to supersede them.

The Civil List ceases,

Having thus published the certificate of their crimes, and of their title to the gratitude of the rebels, the Assembly showed themselves more and more worthy of their confidence, by passing, as soon as proposed, such decrees as must be most agreeable to them. They voted, as a measure of safety, the permanence of their Sitting till the meeting of the National Convention, and an establishment of a camp under the walls of Paris, to be formed of all citizens who chose to enlist. They granted the cannoniers the permission which they had asked, of planting artillery on the heights of Montmartre; they authorized the Administrative and Municipal Bodies to make domiciliary visits, to take away whatever powder and arms

arms might be found concealed in the houses of *suspicious persons*; they recalled *Roland*, *Claviere*, and *Servan* to the Ministry by acclamation; appointed the infamous *Danton*, one of the most violent instigators of the rebellion, to the Judiciary Department; *Monge*, a furious Jacobin, to the Marine Department; and *Le Brun*, a similar demagogue, to the Department of Foreign Affairs; lastly, they entirely abolished the distinction of citizens active and not active; and to the intent of establishing the grand principle of equality in as formal a manner as possible, they decreed that in future, and for the approaching Convention, every citizen of the age of twenty-one years, and maintaining himself by his own labour, should be admitted to vote without any distinction in the Primary Assemblies*.

The King, still shut up in the box of the *Logographe*, was witness to these criminal

* There could not be a surer way of composing the Assembly that was to determine the fate of the King of the greatest villains in the kingdom. Truth, however, calls upon me to state that there were but 284 Deputies out of 745, who attended the Sitting of the 10th of August; that is, fewer than two-fifths of the Members of the Assembly.

proceed-

proceedings; he heard, with unaltered serenity, the most threatening petitions demanding his deposition, the regicide vociferations of the galleries, and the Report of the Commission of the Twelve, which dethroned him. The unhappy monarch, long resigned to every species of outrage, and perhaps too timid to have repelled them, even if he had had the means, thought only of bearing them with all the dignity his situation admitted, and of sustaining the courage of his family by his example. The Queen, who was extremely anxious for the women whom she had left in the Palace, inquired for them, with the most affecting emotion, of every person who came from the Thuilleries. She had at last the consolation of hearing that they were saved, and she resumed that calm and majestic mien by which she always appeared superior to insult and danger. The demeanour of *Madame Royale* was the counterpart of the Queen's, qualified with the softness, timidity, and grace peculiar to her age. Mildness and indignation were alternately marked on the features of *Madame Elizabeth*, and more than once, to prevent the latter from breaking out, she was obliged to look at her brother,

ther. The Dauphin, overcome with heat, and sleeping on his mother's bosom, completed this affecting picture; and the contrast of innocence reposing amidst the bellowings of guilt and ferocity gave it an inexpressible interest*.

At eight in the evening, the approach of night, the glimmering of the flames expiring in the square of the *Caroussel*, the naked bodies of the murdered Swifs, the appearance of ruin and destruction throughout the Palace, the confused shouts of the multitude, and particularly that of *Vive la nation!* which had signalized the massacres of the day, all concurred to prolong dread and horror.

The Luxembourg having been appointed for the residence of the Royal Family, they expected every moment to be removed thither; but a deputation of the Section of *Les Quatre Nations* having announced that the subterraneous passages of that Palace

* The Election of a Governor should have followed that of the Ministers, but it was put off till the meeting of the National Convention on the grounds of its being necessary previously to taking into consideration the education of a Prince Royal, to know whether the nation still chose Royalty.

greatly

greatly alarmed the citizens, the Assembly commissioned the Committee of that Section to ascertain the facts, and to take the measures necessary to remove all alarms relative to the King's safety. Their Majesties were consequently detained in the box of the Logographe, which they did not leave till one o'clock in the morning, after passing sixteen horrible hours in it without having been able to procure any other refreshment than some fruit and a beverage made of currants. From this place they were carried to the lodging of the Architect of the Feuillans, under an escort of a detachment of the National Guard and Commissioners from the Assembly appointed for that purpose. This lodging consisted of four small rooms. Five gentlemen*, who were determined not to quit the King, passed the night in the first, which served as an anti-chamber. The King lay down without taking off his clothes in the second; the Queen, with her children, took the third; and Madame *Elizabeth*, the Princess *de Lamballe*, and

* The Duke *de Choiseuil*, M. *de Roban Chabot*, formerly aid-de-camp to M. *de la Fayette*, and M. M. *Obyer* and *Goguelat*.

Mademoiselle

Mademoiselle de Tourzel went to the fourth, in which they found only three mattresses thrown upon the floor? Thus terminated this day of blood, every minute of which was marked with thousands of crimes*.

* See Private Memoirs, chap. XXXIII.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The New Commune, ruled by Robespierre, assume absolute Sway over the Assembly—Massacres continued—The Royal Family carried back to the Box of the Logographe—Means employed by an unknown Person to save the remaining Swiss from being massacred by the Populace—Petition brought by the Commune to the Assembly—Dreadful Situation of the King—His Guard changed—His Remark on being deprived of the Friends still adhering to his Person—M. de Rohan-Chabot sent to the Abbaye—The Queen's Reply to the Gentlemen

Gentlemen who at taking leave offered all their Money—Their Majesties sent to the Tower of the Temple—Manifesto of the Assembly on the Suspension of the King, and Convocation of a National Convention.

THE Monarchy was now at an end, and the reign of *Robespierre* already commenced. He was a Member of the Revolutionary Commune; and ruling them by his energy, as well as by the preponderance given to him by his having been one of the Constituent Assembly, he had directed the temerity of those brigands with such complete success, that, before the day was over, they had annihilated or disorganized all the Constituted Authorities, and usurped all the powers. They had reduced the Assembly to exercising only a portion of the Legislative Power, which it was to their advantage to leave them, in order to invest the acts of their sovereignty with the Constitutional form to which the people had been accustomed, and to whom it would have been imprudent so soon to show that that Constitution, which the day before was still the object of their enthusiasm,

enthusiasm, and one of the principal rallying shouts of the insurrection was but an unmeaning word: thus, Commissioners from the Commune, with *Robespierre* frequently at their head, were constantly going to transmit their will to the Assembly, who, forming their petitions into motions, immediately decreed them without daring to discuss them; and when, after obtaining those decrees, the Commune changed their minds and came to propose others directly contrary; the Assembly was no less ready to adopt them*.

This dastardly submission, this scandalous servility of the Representatives of the na-

* It had been decreed that the Royal Family should be removed to the Luxembourg: the Commissioners of the Commune went and represented that their Majesties would be more secure at the *Hotel de la Chancellerie*, and the Assembly had passed a decree conformably to those representations. Some hours after this, *Robespierre*, who was not at the Commune when they entered into that resolution, and who already considered the Royal Family as his prey, determined that they should be confined in a prison, and in consequence dictated another Resolution, that new Commissioners should go and demand of the Assembly that, as the walls of the garden of *La Chancellerie* were very insecure, the King and his family should be sent to the tower of the Temple, which the Assembly did not hesitate to decree.

tion

tion to villains who had violently invested themselves with the Municipal Power, did not prevent the Commune in urgent cases from arbitrarily exercising, without the intervention of the Assembly, the powers that had evidently developed on the Legislative Body*.

On the 11th of August the Capital was still in the most violent ferment.* The populace were calling aloud for the death of the sixty Swiss soldiers shut up the day before in the building of the Feuillans, and in the meantime till they could get them, they employed themselves in demolishing the statues of the Kings in the public places. The Marseillois and Federates continued assassinating in the streets all persons pointed out to them as Royalists, and even fired upon the men working the engines to extin-

* They suspended the Committees of the Sections, the Directory and Council of the Department, imprisoned the Justices of the Peace who composed the Police Courts, suspended all the other Justices of the Capital, and transferred their functions to the General Assemblies of the Sections. The Assembly authorized them also to name each, one of their Members to discharge provisionally the functions of Administrators of the Department.

guish the fire that was burning the buildings of the Palace. The Thuilleries, deserted and open to all who chose to go, was still stained with blood and strewed with dead bodies. The shops were shut; a profound silence reigned through all the streets except those where the brigands were; and persons whose business called them from home were obliged to disguise themselves in the shabbiest clothes before they ventured abroad. The town would soon have been empty if the inhabitants had been permitted to leave it; but the Commune had ordered all the barriers to be shut.

The King and his family were brought back to the box of the Logographe at ten o'clock in the morning, and as they entered, heard the cannibals crying out for the heads of the Swifs. The Assembly, too base, too much terrified to dare to adopt measures of vigour, confined themselves to ordering that *Santerre* should be called to the Bar. So great was the panic, that the Hall-keepers went and gave the King notice to go into the narrow passage of the box as soon as the people had forced by the centinels. His Majesty's first words on receiving this advice

vice were, to desire that the faithful servants about him would go away and avoid the danger. The ex-capuchin *Chabot*, and one of his colleagues, as great a patriot as himself, were sent to harangue the people, and endeavour, by the means of persuasion, to lead them back to the sentiments of humanity and generosity that were so natural to them: their harangues, however, were answered with hootings and shouts of *Down Speaker!* and the Swiss owed their preservation entirely to the zeal, address, and courage of a man of the lowest class, whom Providence sent to their relief. This man having gained admission to the Bar of the Assembly, said that the citizens who were calling for the heads of the Swiss thought them guilty, but that he had been witness of their conduct, and could attest their innocence. “Yesterday,” added he, “before
“ the firing began, perceiving the treacherous designs of the Court, they separated
“ from the body of the troops, and formed
“ themselves into a platoon opposite the
“ terrace of the Feuillans, where they
“ might have shot 3,000 men, women,
“ and children, but they fired in the air,

“ and cried *Vive la nation**! All the
 “ Members of the Assembly have it in
 “ their power to confirm what I say, for
 “ they must have heard the discharge. To
 “ save these worthy men, I beseech you,
 “ Mr. President, to invite the galleries,
 “ who have now heard these facts, and the
 “ attestation given to them by the Members
 “ of the Assembly, to go with me and speak
 “ to the people, who will rely on these wor-
 “ thy *Sans-culottes*, to whom I consider it an
 “ honour to belong: we shall make them
 “ listen to the language of reason, which is
 “ far more powerful than that of bayonets:
 “ yes, my friends, follow me, we are
 “ going to do a good action.”

This address produced great emotion in the Assembly, and the Speaker was followed out by the persons in the galleries. In a very short time they returned to the Bar,

* The fact is, that those sixty Swiss, whom M. *D'Hervey* had led from the Palace, had assisted in defending it as well as their comrades, and that when they got to the Terrace of the Feuillans they discharged their muskets in the air before they entered the precincts of the Hall, that they might not be used against themselves if obliged to give them up.

leading

leading in and embracing the Swifs, whom they had justified and delivered. This scene would have been still more affecting had it not been sullied by the fallhoods of *Chabot* and his colleague, who, to exculpate the people, shamefully asserted that they had seen in the crowd Aristocrats in disguise busy in misleading the *Sans-culottes*. Instead of taking advantage of so favourable a circumstance to abate the agitation of the people, those scoundrels strove only to keep it up: they still stood in need of the fury of the populace, and, it was on their motion that the Assembly, who should have set at liberty those Swifs whom the people had absolved, decreed that they should be carried to the prison of the Abbaye to be tried by a Court-Martial, the appointment of which they assigned to *Santerre**. The provisional Commandant of the National Guard having been sent for, appeared at this moment at the Bar, and said that the Capital was still in a great ferment, and that it was proper that the King and his family should remain within the precinct of the Assembly.

* A Member of the Commune appeared and demanded that the Swifs should be confined in the *Palais-Bourbon*, which was moved and decreed.

The fate of their Majesties gave much less concern to the Legislative Body than that of the *virtuous Petion*, still imprisoned and kept in sight at the Mayor's Hotel; but as it was by the omnipotence of the new Commune that he was confined there, the Assembly were lamenting it without daring to proceed to any act respecting him, when the authors of his confinement appeared and announced that he should be restored to his full liberty in a few minutes; that the Commune had put him under a guard at home only because they well knew a plot had been laid by assassins who wanted to take his life, and who had assembled at Meudon, whither they had sent a force. This absurd story deceived no one; it was generally known that there existed no other plot against *Petion* than that of the Commune themselves; but who would have dared at this time to contradict them? They were too powerful to fear it.

Petion at length appeared at the Bar, accompanied by several Municipal officers, who, as they presented him, cavalierly addressed the Assembly in this short sentence: "Legislators! the friends of the people
" are come to restore to the friends of the
" people

“ people the friend of the people.” After this the Mayor expressed the great satisfaction he had experienced in passing through the Capital. “ The people,” said he, “ are
 “ every where blessing you, they are every
 “ where blessing your decrees ; it is in the
 “ name of the Assembly that we have every
 “ where maintained order. The people,
 “ ever good, ever just, have declared that
 “ they have confidence in their magistrates,
 “ and that they will not suffer them to be
 “ calumniated. I answer for no violence
 “ being offered to the Swiss ; for the people
 “ have promised us, and the people will
 “ keep their promise : they are now sensible
 “ of the necessity of relying on the laws,
 “ and of appealing to them for vengeance.”

But while *Petion* was thus wheedling the people and the Assembly, that people, *ever good* and *ever just*, instead of *relying on* the laws, were with fury searching for all the Constitutional or Royalist editors of papers, arresting, ill treating, and dragging to prison those who had not had the prudence or time to conceal themselves*, de-

* Among the number was the unfortunate *Durosoi*, the editor of the paper, entitled, *The Friend of the King*, a writer esteemed for his talents, principles, and courage, but whose zeal was frequently indiscreet.

stroying their houses, and carrying away or breaking their furniture and presses.

It would be too tedious to report the harangues of the vast number of deputations who, to crown the outrages committed against the Royal Family, appeared at this Sitting to celebrate the glory of the 10th of August, and to compliment the Assembly on their crimes. Nor will I disgust the Reader with an account of the atrocious motions and remarks which their Majesties were compelled to hear; it seemed as if the presence of that august and interesting family served but to augment the scandalous fury of those villains, whose words, whose very looks, as they were turned towards the box of the Logographe, already voted the regicide. What pang could have been more acute to the feeling heart of *Louis XVI.* than that of no longer being able to ascribe the outrages heaped upon him to a transient error, and of seeing that the factious had succeeded in rendering him hateful to that people whom he had so much loved, whom he still loved, and for whom he had sacrificed every thing? The King, who the day before was more agitated with the dread of the danger that threatened his family and the

the persons attached to him, appeared on this day more deeply afflicted. On going back to the Feuillans, the comfort of being again alone with his family, and the small number of faithful servants, who had not left him for eight-and-forty hours, banished from his mind for a moment the painful thoughts that weighed it down. Unfortunately, the King's apartment was next to the room where the Committee of Inspection held their meetings. Some of the Members having heard their Majesties conversing familiarly with the persons about them, immediately concluded that they were laying some plot to carry off the Royal Family, and denounced it the very next day to the Assembly. The Commissioners of the Commune, who happened to be present, supported this denunciation by attesting against all truth, that there were still many false patrols. "How do you think," said some, "that the Assembly can answer for the King's existence, if we permit people whom we do not know to go to him?" This remark was followed by several motions, each new one exceeding the foregoing in barbarity; and the Assembly decreed that the Commandant of the National guard should be responsible

responsible for the King's safety, and should take whatever steps he thought proper to provide for it; that the King's guard should be changed, and that while the Royal Family remained in the precinct of the Legislative Body, they should be guarded by fifteen men of the *Gendarmerie* and fifteen of the National Guards.

This decree was immediately put into execution, and the most furious patriots that could be picked out of the troops were made their Majesties' new guard. The King, perceiving the change by the difficulties that occurred in his service, and by the coarse and insolent language used by the wretches at his door, sent for the hall-keepers, and asked them the reason of these new affronts. They told him that the people were determined to remove from the Royal Family the suspicious persons who waited upon them, and that it was necessary that they should retire, to prevent fresh excesses and greater evils. "I am in prison then, Gentlemen," replied the King coolly. "Charles I. was happier than I; he retained his friends till he ascended the scaffold."

M. *de Rohan-Chabot*, one of the five gentlemen who had attended the Royal Family

mily to the Assembly, having gone out on a commission for their Majesties, was arrested as a suspicious person and carried before the Assembly, who, after examining him, sent him to the Committee of the Section, and directed seals to be put on his papers. The Committee ordered him to the prison of the Abbaye*. The King, fearing lest the four gentlemen who remained with him should meet with the same fate, insisted upon their leaving him. As he gave the order his eyes filled with tears; he embraced them as he received their last farewell, and made them embrace his children. As they were going, they presented all the money and assignats they had about them to the King, but his Majesty would accept none from them. "Keep your money, gentlemen," said the Queen, "you have more occasion for it than we: you, I hope, have long to live." One of them, M. Obyer, threw a rouleau of fifty louis-dors on the table and ran off, that he might not be compelled to take it back. This scene of anguish left the Royal Family in a state of depression and

* He was one of the first victims in the massacre of the 2d and 3d of September.

consternation

consternation more easily conceived than described. Their Majesties, nevertheless, returned to their place in the box of the *Logographe*, where they again heard petitioners accuse *Louis XVI.* of betraying the people, blame the Assembly for decreeing only his suspension, and demand his deposition as indispensable for the re-establishment of the National tranquillity.

It was not till Monday, the 13th of August, that by virtue of a decree on a motion made by *Manuel*, the Royal Family were conveyed to the tower of the Temple in two carriages. The Mayor and *Procureur* of the *Commune* went in the King's. They had promised the Assembly to show their Majesties the consideration and respect due to misfortune; but they took no step to prevent or to check the gross insults the King and Queen experienced from the populace as they went on, and they were near two hours on their way.

Thus was the august descendant of so many Kings, the worthy successor of *St. Louis*, *Louis XII.* and *Henry IV.* after a reign, almost every day of which had been marked with fresh benefits to his people, driven from his Palace by that very people
in

in a paroxysm of fury, loaded with abuse for three whole days, even within the walls of the Assembly of the Representatives of the nation, and dragged shamefully to prison, with all his family, like the vilest of criminals*.

* The Princess *de Lamballe*, Madame *de Tourzel*, and her daughter had requested and had been permitted as a favour to be confined in the Temple with the Queen; but in the night of the 18th of August they were taken away and sent to the prison of *La Force*, as were also her Majesty's waiting-maids, who had attended her to the Temple. The Queen and Princesses had now no other attendance than that of the King's valet-de-chambre, and one *Tiffon*, a kind of under-jailer, whom, with his wife, the Commune had placed in the Temple, less to serve the Royal Family than to be spies upon them, and to watch the conduct of all who went near them. Their Majesties were not only deprived of the comfort of having about them the faithful servants to whose attentions they had been accustomed, the hardship of their situation was rendered still greater by the absolute want of furniture and articles they stood most in need of. By the pillage of the Palace, they were robbed of all their linen and clothes, except what they had on when they left it; and the small quantity of linen they had was lent to them by some of their friends while they were at the *Feuillans*, and principally by the Countess of *Sutherland*, the lady of the English Ambassador. See *Clery's Journal*, page 65 of the French edition, and page 71 of the English edition.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile the Assembly were attending to the reading of a manifesto, designed to justify the Revolution and the crimes of the 10th of August in the eyes of France and of all Europe, and the Commissioners of the Commune, in company with those of the Assembly, went to the house of M. *de la Porte*, the Comptroller of the Civil List, whom they had sent to prison *for his safety*, and searched among his papers for proofs of the pretended crime of which the King was accused in this manifesto. This paper, composed by *Condorcet*, with all the art of which that vile and wicked man was capable, is but a tissue of false and scandalous assertions, contradicted not only by the clearest facts, but by confessions afterwards made by the heads of the conspiracy of the 10th of August, *Barbaroux*, *Brissot*, *Cambron*, &c. who boasted in the tribune of *having formed the plan, hastened the execution of it; and of being the first to perceive that it was the only means of consummating the annihilation of the Monarchy and of raising the Republic*; so that this manifesto, far from justifying the Revolution of the 10th of August, far from sully-
ing in any manner the memory of *Louis XVI.*

XVI. can only be considered as the strongest impeachment of the Assembly ; and it is as such I record it here, fully convinced that the imposture of the charges which it contains against the King is too evident not to appear completely refuted by the facts that have been related in the preceding chapters.

“ *Exposition of the Motives on which the*
 “ *French National Assembly have pro-*
 “ *claimed the Convocation of a National*
 “ *Convention, and pronounced the Sus-*
 “ *pension of the Executive Power in the*
 “ *hands of the King.*

“ The National Assembly owe to the na-
 “ tion, to Europe, and to posterity, a rigo-
 “ rous account of the motives which have
 “ determined their late resolutions.

“ Placed between the duty of remaining
 “ faithful to their oaths, and that of saving
 “ their country, they wished to fulfil both
 “ at the same time, and to do all that the
 “ public safety required, without usurping
 “ the powers with which the people had
 “ not entrusted them.

“ At the opening of their Session, an
 “ assemblage of Emigrants, formed on the
 “ fron-

“ frontiers, kept up a correspondence with
“ all the enemies of liberty that were still
“ to be found in the Departments, or
“ among the troops of the line; and fanatical
“ priests, infusing trouble into superstitious
“ minds, sought to persuade those deluded
“ citizens that the Constitution wounded the
“ rights of conscience, and that the law had
“ confided the functions of religion to schismatical
“ and sacrilegious persons.

“ Finally, a league formed among powerful
“ Kings menaced the liberty of France; they
“ fancied that they had a right to fix to what
“ degree the interest of their despotism
“ permitted us to be free, and flattered
“ themselves that they should see the
“ sovereignty of the people, and the independence
“ of the French Empire, fall down before
“ the arms of their slaves.

“ Thus every thing announced a civil and
“ religious war, of which a foreign war
“ would soon increase the danger.

“ The National Assembly thought it their
“ duty to repress the Emigrants, and to
“ restrain the factious priests by severe
“ decrees; and the King employed against
“ these decrees the suspensive refusal of
“ sanction

“ sanction which the Constitution granted
“ him. In the mean time, those Emigrants
“ and those priests were busily acting in the
“ name of the King; it was to re-establish
“ him in what they called his lawful autho-
“ rity, that the former had taken up arms,
“ and the latter were preaching assassination
“ and treason. These Emigrants were the
“ brothers of the King, his relations, his
“ former body guards. And while the
“ correspondence of these facts with the
“ conduct of the King authorized, nay, en-
“ joined distrust, this refusal of the sanction
“ applied to decrees that could not be sus-
“ pended without being annihilated, shewed
“ clearly how the *Veto*, suspensive accord-
“ ing to the law, rendered definitive by the
“ manner of employing it, gave to the
“ King the unlimited and arbitrary power
“ of rendering null all the measures which
“ the Legislative Body might think neces-
“ sary for maintaining liberty.

“ From that moment, from one end of the
“ kingdom to the other, the people shewed
“ those gloomy discontents that announced
“ storms, and the suspicions which accused
“ the Executive Power displayed themselves
“ with energy.

“ The National Assembly were not discouraged. Princes who professed themselves the allies of France, had given the Emigrants not an asylum, but the liberty of arming, of forming themselves into military bodies, of levying soldiers, of providing warlike stores; and the King was invited, by a solemn message, to break, on this violation of the rights of nations, a silence that had been kept but too long. He seemed to yield to the national wish; preparations for war were ordered; but it was soon perceived that the negotiations, conducted by a Ministry weak or treacherous, were confined to obtaining vain promises, which remaining unexecuted, could not be regarded but as a snare or an insult. The league of Kings assumed in the mean time a new activity; and at the head of this league appeared the Emperor, brother-in-law to the King of the French, united to the nation by a treaty useful to himself alone, which the Constituent Assembly, deceived by the Ministry, had maintained, by sacrificing, to preserve the hope, at that time well founded, of an alliance with the House of Brandenburg.

“ The

“ The National Assembly thought that it
 “ was necessary for the safety of France, to
 “ oblige the Emperor to declare whether he
 “ would be her ally or her enemy, and to
 “ pronounce between two contradictory
 “ treaties, of which the one bound him to
 “ give succours to France, and the other
 “ engaged him to attack her ; treaties which
 “ he could not reconcile, without avowing
 “ the intention of separating the King from
 “ the nation, and of representing a war
 “ against the French people, as succours
 “ granted to his ally. The Emperor’s an-
 “ swer augmented the distrust which this
 “ combination of circumstances rendered so
 “ natural. In it he repeated the absurd
 “ charges against the Assembly of the Re-
 “ presentatives of the French people, against
 “ the popular societies established in our
 “ cities, with which the partizans of the
 “ French Ministry had long wearied the
 “ Counter-revolution presses. He made
 “ protestations of his desire to continue the
 “ ally of the King, and he had just signed
 “ a new league against France in favour
 “ of the authority of the King of the
 “ French.

“ These leagues, these treaties, the in-

Q 2

“ triges

“ trigue of the Emigrants, who had so-
 “ licited them in the name of the King,
 “ had been concealed by the Ministers from
 “ the Representatives of the people. No
 “ public disavowal of these intrigues, no
 “ effort to prevent or dissolve this conspi-
 “ racy of Monarchs, had shewn either to
 “ the citizens of France or the nations of
 “ Europe, that the King had sincerely
 “ united his own cause to that of the na-
 “ tion.

“ This apparent connivance between the
 “ Cabinet of the Thuilleries and that of
 “ Vienna struck every mind; the National
 “ Assembly thought it their duty to ex-
 “ amine with vigour the conduct of the
 “ Minister for Foreign Affairs; and a de-
 “ cree of impeachment was the result of this
 “ examination. His colleagues disappeared
 “ with him, and the King’s Council was
 “ formed of patriot Ministers.

“ The successor of *Leopold* followed the
 “ course of his father. He thought proper
 “ to require for the Princes formerly pos-
 “ sessed fiefs in Alsace, indemnifications
 “ incompatible with the French Constitu-
 “ tion, and derogatory to the independence
 “ of the nation. He wanted France to be-
 “ tray

“ tray the confidence and violate the rights
“ of the people of Avignon. At length he
“ announced other causes of complaint,
“ which could not, he said, be discussed be-
“ fore the force of arms had been tried.

“ The King seemed to feel that this pro-
“ vocation to war could not be borne pa-
“ tiently without betraying a shameful
“ weakness; he seemed to feel how per-
“ fidious was this language of an enemy
“ who pretended to take an interest in his
“ fate, and to desire his alliance, for no
“ purpose but to sow seeds of discord be-
“ tween him and his people, calculated to
“ enervate our forces, and to stop or dis-
“ concert their motions; he proposed war
“ by the unanimous advice of his Council,
“ and war was decreed.

“ By protecting the assemblages of the
“ Emigrants, by permitting them to menace
“ our frontiers, by showing troops in readi-
“ ness to second them on the first success, by
“ preparing a retreat for them, by persisting
“ in a threatening league, the King of Hun-
“ gary obliged France to make preparations
“ of defence ruinous in their expence, ex-
“ hausted her finances, encouraged the au-
“ dacity of the conspirators dispersed
“ through

“ through the Departments, excited uneasiness among the citizens, and thus fomented in them and perpetuated trouble. Never did hostilities more really justify war, and to declare was only to repel it.

“ The National Assembly were then able to judge to what degree, notwithstanding promises so often repeated, all the preparations of defence had been neglected. Nevertheless their uneasiness, their distrust, still rested on the former Ministers, on the secret Council of the King; but they soon saw the patriotic Ministers crossed in their operations, attacked with rancour by the partizans of the Royal Authority, by those who made a parade of personal attachment to the King.

“ Our armies were tormented with political divisions: discord was sown among the commanders of the troops, as between the Generals and the Ministry. Attempts were made to transform into the instruments of a party, which concealed not its desire of substituting its will for that of the Representatives of the nation, those very armies that were destined to the external defence of the French territory,

“ ritory, and to maintaining the National
“ independence.

“ The machinations of the Priests be-
“ come more active in the moment of war,
“ made a restraining law indispensable ; one
“ was passed.

“ The formation of a camp between Paris
“ and the frontiers was a disposition happily
“ calculated for external defence, while at
“ the same time it served to give security to
“ the internal Departments, and to prevent
“ the troubles which their disquiets might
“ have produced ; the formation of such a
“ camp was ordered ; but these two decrees
“ were rejected by the King, and the patriot
“ Ministers were dismissed.

“ The Constitution had granted to the
“ King a guard of 1800 men, and this guard
“ audaciously manifested a contempt of civil
“ duties, which inspired the citizens with
“ indignation, or with terror ; hatred of
“ the Constitution, and above all, of liberty
“ and equality, were the best titles for being
“ admitted into it.

“ The Assembly was forced to dissolve
“ this guard, to prevent both the troubles
“ which it could not fail soon to occasion,
“ and the plots of Counter-revolution, of

“ which but too many indications were al-
“ ready manifest. The decree was sanc-
“ tioned ; but a Proclamation by the King
“ bestowed praises on those very men whose
“ dismissal from his service he had just
“ pronounced, on those whom he had ad-
“ mitted to be men justly accused of being
“ the enemies of liberty.

“ The new Ministers excited well found-
“ ed mistrust ; and as this distrust could not
“ stop at them, it fell on the King himself.

“ The application of the refusal of the
“ sanction to the decrees rendered necessary
“ by circumstances, of which the execution
“ ought to have been prompt, and to have
“ ceased with the circumstances which had
“ rendered them necessary, was regarded, in
“ the general opinion, as an interpretation
“ of the Constitutional Act contrary to
“ liberty, and even to the spirit of the Con-
“ stitution. The agitation of the people of
“ Paris became extreme ; an immense
“ crowd of citizens joined to form a peti-
“ tion ; in it they solicited the recal of the
“ patriotic Ministers, and the retraction of
“ the refusal to sanction the decrees in fa-
“ vour of which the public opinion had
“ been loudly declared. They desired leave

“ to

“ to pass in arms before the National Assem-
“ bly after their Deputies had read their pe-
“ tition. This leave, which other armed bo-
“ dies had before obtained, was granted them.
“ They desired to present the same petition to
“ the King, and to present it under the forms
“ established by the law ; but at the mo-
“ ment when Municipal officers were
“ coming to inform them that their Depu-
“ ties, who had been refused at first, were
“ going to be admitted, the gate was open-
“ ed, and the crowd rushed into the Palace.
“ The zeal of the Mayor of Paris, the af-
“ cendancy which his virtues and his pa-
“ triotism gave him over the minds of the
“ citizens, the presence of the Representa-
“ tives of the people, of whom successive
“ deputations constantly surrounded the
“ King, prevented all serious disorders,
“ and few assemblages so numerous ever
“ gave occasion to less disorder of any
“ kind.

“ The King had mounted the ensigns of
“ liberty ; he had done justice to the citi-
“ zens by declaring, that he thought him-
“ self in safety in the midst of them ; the
“ day of the Federation was approaching ;
“ citizens from all the Departments were
“ to

“ to repair to Paris, there to swear to main-
“ tain that liberty for which they were
“ going to fight on the frontiers; and all
“ might still have been repaired. But the
“ Ministers saw nothing in the events of the
“ 20th of June, but a favourable occasion
“ for sowing division between the inhabi-
“ tants of Paris and those of the Depart-
“ ments, between the people and the army,
“ between the several portions of the Na-
“ tional Guard, between the citizens who
“ remained at their homes and those who
“ were flying to the defence of the state.
“ The very next day the King changed his
“ language; a proclamation full of calumny
“ was profusely distributed among the
“ armies; one of their Generals came, in
“ the name of that which he commanded,
“ to demand vengeance, and to point out
“ his victims. A considerable number of
“ Directories of Department, by unconsti-
“ tutional resolutions, disclosed the plan
“ they had long before formed, of raising
“ themselves into a sort of immediate power
“ between the people and their Representa-
“ tives, between the National Assembly
“ and the King. Justices of the Peace
“ commenced, in the very place of the
“ Thuilleries

“ Thuilleries, a dark procedure, in which
 “ it was hoped to involve those patriots
 “ whose vigilance and whose talents were
 “ the most dreaded. Already one of these
 “ Justices had attempted to infringe upon
 “ the inviolability of the Representatives of
 “ the people, and every thing announced a
 “ plan dexterously concerted for finding in
 “ the judicial order the means of giving an
 “ arbitrary extension to the Royal authority;
 “ letters from the Minister of the Home
 “ Department directed the employing of
 “ force against the Federates, who might
 “ wish to take at Paris the oath to fight for
 “ liberty; and it required all the activity
 “ of the National Assembly, all the pa-
 “ triotism of the army, all the zeal of the
 “ enlightened citizens, to prevent the fatal
 “ effects of this plan of disorganization,
 “ which might have lighted up the flames
 “ of civil war. An emotion of patriotism
 “ had extinguished, in fraternal union, the
 “ divisions that had appeared but too often
 “ in the National Assembly, and from this
 “ also the means of safety might have
 “ sprung: the prosecutions commenced by
 “ the King’s order, at the instance of the
 “ Intendant of the Civil List, might have
 “ been

“ been stopped ; the virtuous *Petion*, pu-
“ nished, by an unjust suspension, for having
“ spared the blood of the people, might
“ have been reinstated by the King ; and
“ it was possible, that this long series of
“ faults and treasons might have fallen again
“ entirely upon those perfidious counsellors
“ to whom a confiding people had long been
“ in the habit of attributing all the crimes
“ of our Kings.

“ The National Assembly then saw that
“ the safety of the country required extra-
“ ordinary measures.

“ They opened a discussion on the means
“ of saving their country ; they instituted
“ a commission charged to consider of and
“ prepare a plan of these means.

“ The declaration that the country was in
“ danger called all the citizens to the com-
“ mon defence, all persons in public trust
“ to their posts ; and yet in the midst of
“ complaints unceasingly repeated of the
“ inaction of Government, on the neglect
“ or ill management of the preparations for
“ war, on the useless or dangerous motions
“ of the armies, the avowed object of
“ which was to favour the political plans of
“ one of the Generals, Ministers unknown
“ or

“ or suspected were seen to succeed one
“ another rapidly, and to present, under
“ new names, the same inactivity and the
“ same principles.

“ A declaration of the General of the
“ enemy, which doomed to death all free-
“ men, and promised to cowards and traitors
“ his disgraceful protection, could not but
“ add to these suspicions. In it the enemy
“ of France seemed to attend to nothing
“ but the defence of the King of the French.
“ Twenty-six millions of men were nothing
“ in his estimation, in comparison of a pri-
“ vileged family; their blood must wet the
“ earth to avenge the slightest insult; and
“ the King, instead of expressing his indig-
“ nation against a manifesto, intended to
“ take from him the confidence of the
“ people, seemed to oppose to it, and
“ that reluctantly, a cold and timid dis-
“ avowal.

“ Who then can be astonished that dis-
“ trust in the supreme head of the Executive
“ Power should inspire citizens with the de-
“ fire of no longer seeing the forces intended
“ for the common defence at the disposition
“ of a King in whose name France was at-
“ tacked, and the care of maintaining her
“ internal

“ internal tranquillity confided to him
“ whose interests were the pretexts of all her
“ troubles? To these motives, common to
“ all France, were joined others particular
“ to the inhabitants of Paris. They saw
“ the families of the conspirators* at Co-
“ blentz forming the habitual society of the
“ King and his family. Writers paid by
“ the Civil List endeavoured by base calum-
“ nies to render the Parisians odious or sus-
“ pected in the eyes of the rest of France.
“ Attempts were made to sow division be-
“ tween the poor citizens and the rich; the
“ National Guard was agitated by perfidious
“ manœuvres, in order to form in it a par-
“ ty of Royalists. In fine, the enemies of
“ liberty seemed to be divided between
“ Paris and Coblentz, and their audacity in-
“ creased with their number.

“ The Constitution enjoined the King to give
“ notice of imminent hostilities to the Na-
“ tional Assembly; and yet long solicitations
“ were necessary to obtain of the Ministry
“ the tardy information of the march of the
“ Prussian troops. The Constitution pro-
“ nounced abdication against the King if he
“ did not, by some formal act, declare his
“ opposition to enterprises undertaken in
“ his

“ his name against the nation ; and the Emi-
“ grant Princes had opened public loans in
“ the King’s name, had hired foreign troops
“ in his name, had levied French regiments
“ in his name, had formed a military house-
“ hold for him out of France ; and these facts
“ were known for more than six months
“ before the King, whose public declararions,
“ whose remonstrances with foreign powers
“ might have hindered the success of these
“ measures, had discharged the duty imposed
“ upon him by the Constitution.

“ It was on motives thus powerful that
“ numerous petitions, sent from a great
“ number of the Departments, the wish of
“ several Sections of Paris, followed by the
“ general expression of the wish of the
“ whole Commune, solicited the deposition
“ of the King, or the suspension of the
“ Royal Power and the National Assem-
“ bly could no longer shrink from the ex-
“ amination of this grand question.

“ It was their duty not to decide but
“ after a mature and well-considered exami-
“ nation, after a solemn discussion, after
“ having heard and weighed all opinions.
“ But the patience of the people was ex-
“ hausted ; all at once they appeared united

“ as

“ as one man in the same will ; they march-
“ ed towards the place of the King’s resi-
“ dence, and the King came to seek an
“ asylum in the Assembly of the Repre-
“ sentatives of the people, whose seat he
“ knew that the fraternal union of the in-
“ habitants of Paris with the citizens of
“ the Departments, would always render
“ an asylum inviolable and sacred.

“ National Guards had been charged with
“ defending the residence which the King
“ had abandoned, but with them Swiss sol-
“ diers were stationed. The people had
“ long seen with painful surprise Swiss bat-
“ talions sharing the guard of the King,
“ although the Constitution did not allow
“ him to have a foreign guard. It had long
“ been easy to foresee that this direct vio-
“ lation of the law, which by its nature
“ constantly obtruded itself on every eye,
“ would, sooner or later, occasion great
“ misfortunes. The National Assembly
“ had neglected nothing to prevent them.
“ Reports, discussions, motions made by
“ individual Members and referred to Com-
“ mittees, had apprised the King several
“ months before of the necessity of dis-
“ missing from about his person men, whom
“ in

“ whom every where else the French al-
“ ways regarded as friends and brothers,
“ but whom they could not see retained
“ about a Constitutional King, in direct
“ contradiction to the Constitution, with-
“ out suspecting that they had become
“ the instruments of the enemies of their
“ liberty.

“ A decree had ordered their removal:
“ their commander, supported by the Mi-
“ nistry, demanded changes in that decree:
“ the National Assembly consented to those
“ changes. A part of the soldiers was to
“ remain near Paris, but without doing any
“ duty that might renew disquiets; and it
“ was contrary to the sense of the National
“ Assembly, contrary to the law, that on
“ the 10th of August they were employed
“ on a service, from which every motive
“ of humanity and of prudence ought to
“ have kept them away. They received
“ orders to fire on the armed citizens, at
“ the instant when the latter were inviting
“ them to peace—when the unequivocal
“ signs of fraternity announced that peace
“ was going to be accepted—at the instant
“ when a deputation of the National Af-
“ sembly was seen advancing in the midst

“ of arms, to speak the words of peace
“ and conciliation, and prevent carnage.
“ Then nothing could stop the vengeance
“ of the people, who had thus received
“ proof of a new act of treachery, at the
“ very moment they were coming to com-
“ plain of those of which they had long
“ been the victims.

“ In the midst of these disasters, the Na-
“ tional Assembly, afflicted, but calm, took
“ the oath to maintain equality and liberty,
“ or to die at their post ; they took the oath
“ to save France, and they fought for the
“ means.

“ They saw but one, which was that of
“ recurring to the supreme will of the peo-
“ ple, and inviting them to exercise imme-
“ diately their inalienable right of sove-
“ reignty, which the Constitution had re-
“ cognised, and which it could not subject
“ to any restriction. The public interest
“ required that the people should manifest
“ their will by the sense of a National Con-
“ vention, formed of Representatives, in-
“ vested by them with unlimited powers ;
“ it required no less that the Members of
“ this Convention should be elected in each
“ Department in a uniform manner, and
“ according

“ according to a regular mode. But the
 “ National Assembly could not restrain the
 “ powers of the sovereign people, from
 “ whom alone the Members of that Assembly
 “ hold all the powers they possess. They
 “ were bound to confine themselves to con-
 “ juring the people, in the name of their
 “ country, to follow the simple regulations
 “ traced out for them. In these, the forms
 “ instituted for elections were respected,
 “ because the establishment of new forms,
 “ even supposing them to have been better,
 “ would have been a source of delay, per-
 “ haps of division. They preserved in
 “ them none of the conditions of eligibility,
 “ none of the limitations of the right of
 “ electing or being elected, established by
 “ the former laws, because these laws,
 “ which are so many restrictions on the
 “ exercise of the right of sovereignty, are
 “ not applicable to a National Convention,
 “ in which this right ought to be exer-
 “ cised with complete independence. The
 “ distinction of active citizens appears not
 “ in these regulations, because it is also a
 “ restriction of the law. The only condi-
 “ tions required are those which nature
 “ has prescribed, such as the necessity of

“ being connected, by a fixed residence,
“ with the territory for which the right of
“ citizenship is exercised, of having at-
“ tained the age at which men are held by
“ the laws of the nation of which they make
“ a part, to be in a condition to exercise their
“ personal rights; finally, of having pre-
“ served absolute independence of will.

“ But to assemble new Representatives of
“ the people required time; and although
“ the National Assembly have made as short
“ as possible the periods of the operations
“ which the Convention made necessary;
“ although they accelerated the period at
“ which they must cease to bear the burden
“ of the public weal, in such a manner as
“ to avoid the least suspicion of ambitious
“ views; the term of forty days would still
“ have exposed the country to great mis-
“ fortunes, and the people to dangerous
“ commotions, if to the King had been left
“ the exercise of the powers conferred upon
“ him by the Constitution; and the sus-
“ pension of these powers appeared to the
“ Representatives of the people the only
“ means of saving France and Liberty.

“ In pronouncing this necessary suspen-
“ sion the Assembly have not exceeded their
“ powers,

“ powers. The Constitution authorizes
 “ them to pronounce it in the case of the
 “ absence of the King, when the term at
 “ which this absence incurs a *legal abdica-*
 “ *tion* is not yet arrived, that is to say, in
 “ the case in which there is not yet ground
 “ for a definitive resolution, but in which a
 “ provisional act of rigour is evidently ne-
 “ cessary, in which it would be absurd to
 “ leave the power in hands that could no
 “ longer make a free and beneficial use of
 “ it. In the present instance, then, these
 “ circumstances are as evidently united as in
 “ the case provided for by the Constitution,
 “ and in conducting ourselves by the prin-
 “ ciple which the Constitution has pointed
 “ out we have obeyed it—far from having
 “ infringed it contrary to our oaths.

“ The Constitution foresaw, that all ac-
 “ cumulation of powers was dangerous, and
 “ might change into tyrants of the people,
 “ those who ought to be only their Repre-
 “ sentatives; but it judged also, that this
 “ danger supposed a long exercise of this
 “ extraordinary power, and the term of
 “ two months is that which it has fixed for
 “ all cases in which it permits this union of

“ powers, which in all other cases it has so
“ rigorously proscribed.

“ The National Assembly, far from ex-
“ tending this term, has reduced it to
“ forty days only ; and, far from exceeding
“ the period fixed by the law on the plea
“ of necessity, they have brought themselves
“ within the narrowest limits.

“ When the power of sanctioning the
“ laws is suspended, the Constitution has
“ pronounced, that the decrees of the Le-
“ gislative Body shall have of themselves
“ the character and authority of laws ; and
“ since he to whom the Constitution gave
“ the choice of Ministers, could no longer
“ exercise his functions, it was necessary
“ that a new law should put the choice into
“ other hands. The Assembly conferred
“ the right on themselves, because this
“ right could not be given but to electors
“ who belonged to the whole nation, and
“ because they alone have that character at
“ present. But they were careful to avoid
“ giving ground for the suspicion that, in
“ conferring this power on themselves,
“ they sought to gratify ambitious views ;
“ they decreed, that the election should be
“ made

“ made openly, that each of them should
 “ pronounce his choice in presence of the Na-
 “ tional Representation, in presence of the
 “ numerous citizens who attended their
 “ Sittings. They took care that each of
 “ their own body should have his colleagues
 “ for his judges, the public for a witness,
 “ and should answer for his choice to the
 “ whole nation.

“ Frenchmen, let us unite all our forces
 “ against the foreign tyranny which dares
 “ to threaten with its vengeance twenty-six
 “ millions of free men. Within six weeks
 “ a power, which every citizen acknow-
 “ ledges, will pronounce on our divisions.
 “ Woe to the man who, listening, during
 “ this short interval, to selfish sentiments,
 “ shall not devote himself wholly to the
 “ common defence ; who shall not see, that
 “ at the moment when the sovereign will
 “ of the people is about to speak, we have
 “ no enemies but the conspirators of Pilnitz
 “ and their accomplices !

“ It is in the midst of a foreign war, at
 “ the moment when numerous armies are
 “ preparing for a formidable invasion, that
 “ we call upon the citizens to discuss in a
 “ peaceable Assembly the rights of liberty.

“ That which would have appeared rash
“ among any other people, seemed to us
“ not above the courage and the patriotism
“ of the French ; and undoubtedly we shall
“ not have the misfortune of finding our-
“ selves deceived in judging you worthy to
“ forget every other interest but that of li-
“ berty, and of sacrificing every other senti-
“ ment to the love of our country.

“ Citizens, it is for you to judge, whether
“ your representatives have exercised for your
“ good the powers you have confided to
“ them; whether they have acted according
“ to your wishes in making a use of their
“ powers, which neither they nor you
“ could foresee to be necessary. For us,
“ we have discharged our duty in seizing
“ with courage on the only means of pre-
“ serving liberty that occurred to our con-
“ sideration. Ready to die for it, at the
“ post in which you have placed us, we shall
“ carry with us at least, on quitting that
“ post, the consolation of having main-
“ tained it faithfully.

“ Whatever judgment our contemporaries
“ or posterity may pass upon us, we shall
“ not have to dread that of our own con-
“ sciences ; to whatever danger we may be
“ exposed,

“ exposed, the happiness will remain to us
“ of having spared the torrents of French
“ blood, which a conduct more weak
“ would have caused to flow ; nor shall we
“ have to reproach ourselves with having
“ seen a means of saving our country, and
“ not having dared to embrace it.

(Signed)

“ GUADET, *President.*
“ GOUJON,
“ G. ROMME,
“ MARANS,
“ CRESTIN,
“ ARENA,
“ LE COINTE PUIRAVAUX,
“ *Secretaries.*”

CHAPTER XXX.

*The Manifesto sent to the Departments and the Armies—Manœuvres in favour of the Revolution of the 10th of August—The Jacobins adopt Brutus for their Patron—They swear to extirpate Royalty from the Earth—The Assembly decree that Electors of the National Convention shall be paid for their Expences and for their Time—Means taken to corrupt the Army—Order issued by General Dillon on first hearing of the Events of the 10th of August—Dumourier's Conduct on that Occasion—The other Generals follow his Example, except M. de la Fayette—
That*

That General's Address to the Municipality of Sedan and to his Army—The Army enraged at the Outrages of the 10th of August—The Commissioners from the Assembly arrested at Sedan—Arts to gain over the Soldiers successful—M. de la Fayette, with other Officers, quit the Kingdom—Taken by the Limburg Volunteers—Their Declaration—The Command of the Army given to Dumourier—Proceedings of the Assembly—Despotism of the Commune—Robespierre's Revolutionary Tribunal established—Note dated Nov. 11, 1791, said to be found in the King's Chamber—Funeral Celebration proposed—M. de Montmorin's Retreat discovered—Proceedings relative to him—He is sent to the Abbaye—M. de la Porte sentenced to Death by the Revolutionary Tribunal—Execution of Durosoi.

AMONG the great political convulsions that at various periods have agitated Empires, and produced in the forms of their Governments the sudden and violent changes called *Revolutions*, those that have been experi-

experienced by France since the year 1789, will principally fix the attention of Historians. It will be observed that the Revolution which they have produced differs from all others, not only in essential character, and as exceeding every other in atrocities, but also because none ever was so general or so complete. The faithful page of History will, in the first place, display the ambitious and imprudent pretensions of Foreign Courts, and the jealousy and avidity of the intriguers of the Court at home, giving the first blows to the Royal Authority, by raising against the pretended Ministerial despotism that general murmur which soon became the shout of rebellion, and the pretext for the insurrections of the month of July 1789, which completely annihilated the authority of the Ministers, and consequently that of the King. It will then trace the different Orders of the State, successively attacking, by fresh insurrections always excited by the class immediately inferior to that which had just triumphed, and the fatal struggle continued till all the ranks of society were absolutely levelled, and till the supreme power, separated from the Throne, was, by one dreadful event after another, forcibly acquired by the
the

the lowest class of the people, armed and rallied by the name of equality. It is a certain fact, that the new Commune of Paris, who had made themselves masters of all the powers, were composed of the most violent patriots, and that among them were shoemakers, players, clerks out of place, &c.

The Assembly, ashamed of being reduced to the office of mechanically passing decrees dictated by the Commissioners of the Commune, determined to throw off that state of nullity, and to endeavour to regain their power, or at least to share it with those who had usurped it. They saw no other means than that of boldly assuming the crimes of the Commune as their own, and glorying in them. This was the chief object of the Manifesto composed by *Condorcet*: They sent it off in great haste to all the Departments, and to the armies, to induce them to approve the outrages of the 10th of August, and the abandonment of the Constitution. Commissioners, chosen from among themselves, and from among the Members of the new Commune, were charged with this important mission, which was principally meant to confirm, by their testimony, the grossest calumnies spread against the
King,

King ; to support their impostures by distributing, in thousands, collections, printed on open sheets of the papers pretended to be found in his Majesty's escritoire, and at the houses of the Comptroller of the Civil List and of the Ministers, and commented upon with the most atrocious perfidy in the Address which accompanied them*. The Journalists in pay contributed with all their power to the success of this manœuvre, by inserting in their prints the same papers, mutilated and explained in such a manner, as to convert every expression into a proof of some *grand plot against the nation*.

These itinerant Commissioners were also charged to proclaim, wherever they went, the political equality consecrated by the Revolution of the 10th of August, by virtue of which the citizens of every class, particularly *the pure sans-culottes*, might aspire not only to a concurrent admission to all offices, but to a preference ; and the less ambitious, to an equal share of all property.

The new Ministers lost no time in justifying the confidence of the Assembly, by writing, in an address to their agents and

* See Appendix, No. XXXI.

the

the Constituted Authorities, a defence of the Revolution of the 10th of August, and of the instructions * on the manner in which they were to conduct themselves in the new order of things, just opened under the auspices of equality †. The most remarkable of these official papers was the address of *Rolland*, now Minister of the Interior, to the Administrative Bodies ‡. This foolish old man, who fully believed that he possessed all the Republican virtues, because he abhorred Kings and the Monarchical form of Government, because he affected the coarsest simplicity in his dress and in his manner of wearing his hair, and because he was neither thief nor assassin, was, in spite of all his wife's ingenuity and caballing, nothing more than an enthusiastic fanatic of the Revolution, and a Minister without means. Recalled with acclamation to the Ministry, through the intrigues of the Gironde party, finding himself again with his old colleagues, *Claviere* and *Servan*, pro-

* Appendix, No. XXXII.

† The Directories of Departments who were warmest in their disapprobation of the 20th of June, were suspended from their functions by the Minister *Rolland*.

‡ Appendix, No. XXXIII.

ected,

tected, as they were, by the majority of the Assembly, and supported by *Petion* and *Manuel* in the Municipality, he had it in his power to play the chief part in the Revolutionary Executive Council; and had he been capable of it, none of the other Ministers would have disputed it with him: but he, as well as they, sunk into nothing under the savage energy of *Danton*, one of whose looks was enough to make them all tremble, and to ensure the success of his opinion.

The Resolutions of the Jacobin Club became also more violent than ever; and it was in the state of things we have been just contemplating, that they formally adopted *Brutus* for their patron. On the day on which the bust of that austere Republican was carried to the Hall of the Club, *Manuel* moved the inauguration of it in the following terms: “ It is here that we are to
 “ pare the fall of Kings, the fall of *Louis*
 “ *the Last*; here then should be placed the
 “ image of that great man, who first mani-
 “ fested the desire of clearing the earth of
 “ Kings. Think that if a *Brutus* should
 “ be found in the National Convention,
 “ France must be saved, as she will no
 “ longer have Kings. We ought all then
 “ to

“ to swear it, and I will be the first, for I
“ swear before God and my country, that
“ in whatever post I am placed, all my
“ efforts shall be bent on the important
“ object of clearing the earth of that pest
“ called Royalty.” This oath was taken
with rapture by the whole Club, and it was
resolved that it should be taken by all the
affiliated Clubs.

These proceedings were powerfully supported by the terror inspired by the Mar-seillois, who were supposed to be retained at Paris only to be sent into the first Departments that should appear refractory. Lists upon lists were also made at this time of *patriots*, of *doubtful citizens*, and of *suspected citizens*. The dread of appearing on the fatal list reduced the boldest to silence, and greatly increased emigration. Pecuniary means were not neglected: none could be more calculated to obtain the approbation of the multitude for the convocation of a National Convention, than that of paying the Electors well; and the Assembly had accordingly decreed, that those who should be obliged to go from home should receive as an indemnity twenty sols for every league, and three livres a day. This was inviting

all the brigands of the kingdom to the elections, and consequently keeping away men of property, heads of families, and the worthy of every class; and by this too was gained the double object of securing a majority of votes in the Primary Assemblies in favour of the Revolution of the 10th of August, and of filling the National Convention with wretches sufficiently hardened to dare to try and to condemn the King. These combined manœuvres produced all the effect the factious foresaw. No Department, no Municipality dared to make the slightest remonstrance against the outrages of the 10th of August, and a profusion of addresses were sent to the Assembly, complimenting them on the wisdom and energy which they had displayed on this occasion.

It was far from being so easy to secure the army; and the Assembly were extremely uneasy as to the effect that the news of the King's suspension might produce on it. Terror could not be employed as a means with soldiers; the generals and officers were almost all attached to the Constitutional party. *M. de la Fayette*, who was still the hero of it, might with more vigour recur to the measures which a few weeks before

fore had manifested his unalterable attachment to the Constitution. It was known, that after the insurrection of the 20th of June, which was confined to insulting the King, he could have marched to Paris at the head of his army; and it was probable that his troops would be still more disposed to follow him, should he propose to them to punish the most serious crime that could be committed against the King and against the Constitution. This was what the Assembly had most to dread, notwithstanding all the modes of seduction and disorganization that they had put in practice since the 20th of June, to weaken the influence of the generals over their armies, and to extinguish the zeal and Constitutional spirit which the officers exerted themselves to keep up among them. Incendiary pamphlets, profusely dispersed among the soldiers, had been preparing them for the Revolution of the 10th of August; and the Assembly lost no time in making it their interest to support it, by declaring the very next day, that for the future the officers should be appointed by the soldiers*.

* The Minister *Servan* obtained a repeal of this decree, against which the soldiers themselves protested.

M. *de la Fayette*, Commander in Chief of the army of the North, had just unsuccessfully attempted, in concert with General *Luckner*, the invasion of Brabant, and they had both afterwards precipitately marched to those points of the frontiers that were threatened by the Duke of *Brunswick*. M. *de la Fayette* went to Sedan to put himself at the head of that part of his army called the army of Ardennes, and the command of the army of Flanders was given to General *Arthur Dillon*, under whom were *Dumourier* and *Beurmonville*. This army, the divisions of which were at Maubeuge, Pont-sur-Sambre, and the camp of Maulde, scarcely amounted to twenty thousand effective men.

As soon as General *Dillon* was informed of the events of the 10th of August, he issued the following order in his camp, dated the 13th :

“ Great and disastrous events have taken
“ place in Paris. General *Arthur Dillon*,
“ Commander in Chief on the Northern
“ frontier, cannot communicate them to the
“ army before he receives information offi-
“ cially, or in an authentic manner ; but it
“ is said that the Constitution has been vio-
“ lated :

“ lated: whoever they are that have perjured
“ themselves, they are the enemies of
“ French liberty. The General takes this
“ perilous occasion to renew his oath of
“ shedding his blood to the last drop in
“ support of the integrity of the Constitu-
“ tion of the kingdom, decreed by the
“ Constituent National Assembly in the
“ years 1789, 1790, and 1791, and to be
“ in every respect faithful to the nation,
“ the law, and the King.”

This was all that could be expected at that moment of a Constitutional General, sincerely attached to the King; and certainly General *Dillon* was in that class. Unfortunately he found his army, and the General Officers under his command, little disposed to support his opinion. *Dumourier*, who at the bottom was not more a Republican than a Constitutionalist or a Royalist, and who never adopted any principle, opinion, or resolution, but such as his inordinate ambition suggested, had very soon concluded, that independently of the risks he should run by joining the Constitutional party, at a moment when the Assembly, the Jacobins, and the populace, were against the Constitution, he should at most play but third

to Generals *La Fayette* and *Dillon*, to whom he thought himself, with some degree of reason, very superior in military talents; whereas by being the first to declare himself in favour of the 10th of August, and by leading the troops, by his example, to devote themselves to the faction who had triumphed, he was almost sure not only of rendering all the efforts of the Constitutional-Generals abortive, but also of obtaining the choice of the chief command of one of the grand armies; he therefore did not hesitate to give the most honourable welcome to the Commissioners of the Assembly, and to take the new oath they proposed to him*. *Luckner*

* On this occasion he wrote the following letter, dated August 14, to his friend *Gensonné*: “ *Dillon* has just ruined himself by a declaration of Royalism, which he has published in the orders at his camp near Pont-sur-Sambre, and which he directed me to insert in mine: I have disobeyed him positively, and have transmitted these papers to the Commissioners of the Assembly, who are just arrived in the army, and whom I expect to-morrow in the camp. I hope at length to be able to render important services to the cause of the sovereignty and liberty of the French people. I will exert myself to the utmost of my power for this, as well as to restore the Belgian liberty.”

ner swore whatever he was desired. This example was followed by most of the Generals,

“ liberty.” His correspondence with the Assembly is equally remarkable, as appears by the following papers :

“ *Camp of Maulde, August 14, 1792,*
“ *of Liberty, Year 4th.*

“ Mr. President,

“ I have the honour of sending to you and to the
“ Minister of War, copies of my letter to General
“ *Arthur Dillon*. The state of things is too important
“ to admit of evasions and cautions. The sovereign
“ nation ought to be assured of our principles, opi-
“ nions, obedience, and zeal in carrying on the war
“ with vigour.

“ I beg, Mr. President, that you will assure the
“ National Assembly that it is my determination to die
“ gloriously at my post, or by victories and firm fidelity
“ concur in saving the country.”

“ *Extract of the Letter written to General Arthur Dillon*
“ *by Lieut. General Dumourier.*

“ In several of your letters, my dear General, you
“ call upon my loyalty. The difficult and painful cir-
“ cumstances in which we are placed, the necessity of
“ acting together, and on the same principles, to extri-
“ cate ourselves, the safety of the country, the obedi-
“ ence we owe to the sovereign, that is, the French
“ people, the necessity of justifying the confidence
“ placed in us by the appointment to the command of

als, and even by *M. de Montesquiou*, who a few weeks before had affirmed, that if the King's deposition were decreed, there would not remain either an officer or a soldier in the army*.

M. de

“ this frontier, all these motives uniting with the
 “ warmth of my patriotism, really oblige me to be
 “ free and open with you.

“ It is time to unite all your means; you can no
 “ longer divide them without injuring the public weal,
 “ and giving grounds for a suspicion that your plan of
 “ dividing is similar to *La Fayette's* odd cantons, and
 “ but the execution of a plan of inaction, which, by
 “ rendering you weaker every where, affords the Aus-
 “ trians the opportunity of choosing their point of at-
 “ tack, and of ensuring it success.

“ To these dispositions of our armies, whether trea-
 “ cherous or unskilful, added to the plots of the ene-
 “ mies of our liberty, is owing the terrible crisis of
 “ the 10th of August, which was to be expected from
 “ a nation, deceived, betrayed, and provoked to ex-
 “ tremities.

“ Once thoroughly assured of your opinion, and very
 “ certain of making a campaign with you useful to
 “ the country, and probably glorious, you may depend
 “ upon me for loyalty and faithful assistance.”

The Assembly, enraptured with these letters, ordered them to be printed and sent to the 83 Departments, and charged the President to write a letter to *Dumourier*, expressing their satisfaction.

* The Count *d'Harambure*, instead of using the new form, openly repeated his oath of fidelity to the nation,
 “ the

M. *de la Fayette* was the only one of all the Generals who dared to attempt realizing in his army what M. *de Montesquiou* had asserted; but unfortunately it was no longer time; and what he might have done after the outrages of the 20th of June, he had no power to accomplish after those of the 10th of August: so true is it that the greatest fault that can be committed by the head of a party in a Revolution, is that of delaying to take advantage of an important success when he is sure of it, and by that delay leaving it to all the hazards of the future. It was very justly said by the Cardinal *de Retz*, that “there is nothing
“ in the world but what has its decisive
“ moment; and it is the perfection of conduct to know and to seize that moment:
“ he that misses it, and particularly in the
“ revolutions of States, runs the hazard of not
“ meeting with it again, or of not perceiving
“ it.” But if M. *de la Fayette* has more than once given occasion for this censure, at least he does not deserve that of not having

“ *the law, and the King.* The Commissioners laughed at the mistake, and the Assembly ascribed it to the simplicity or dotage of the old General.

done

done on this occasion all in his power to crush the Revolution of the 10th of August; and the more precise I have been in exposing the faults of this Constitutional General, the more incumbent is it upon me to be so too in relating those parts of his conduct which redound to his honour.

M. *de la Fayette* was no sooner informed of what had passed at Paris, than he assembled the Administrative Bodies of the Department of Ardennes, conferred with them, and prevailed upon them to resolve, on his demand and on his responsibility, to arrest the Commissioners coming from the Assembly; and in consequence addressed the following letter to the Municipality of Sedan on the 13th of August.

“ Commissioners are coming from the
 “ National Assembly to preach an unconsti-
 “ tutional doctrine to the army. It is evi-
 “ dent to every candid man, that on the
 “ 10th of August, the period of the King’s
 “ suspension, the National Assembly acted
 “ under compulsion, and that the Members
 “ who have accepted this mission can only
 “ be the leaders or the instruments of the
 “ faction, who have thus enslaved the Na-
 “ tional Assembly and the King.

“ I re-

“ I require of the Municipality of Sedan,
“ according to the law respecting war, and
“ on my sole and personal responsibility, to
“ detain the persons calling themselves
“ Commissioners of the National Assembly,
“ and to put them in a place of safety, un-
“ der the guard of a superior officer, who
“ also, on my sole and personal responsi-
“ bility, shall execute this order, which he
“ cannot refuse to obey, without being
“ immediately brought to a court martial.

“ I have also to call upon the Constituted
“ Authorities of the Department, in virtue
“ of the same laws, to approve these mea-
“ sures; and I shall address the same de-
“ mand to the Court of Justice of the Dis-
“ trict of Sedan, and to the different De-
“ partments in which the troops I command
“ are stationed.

“ This letter being lodged at the Munici-
“ pality, will serve as a voucher, to show that
“ neither the Commune of Sedan, nor the
“ National guard placed by the law under my
“ command, nor the army, whether volun-
“ teers or troops of the line, and particularly
“ *M. Sicard*, Colonel of the 43d Regiment,
“ whom I intend for this duty, nor the
“ Administrative and Judicial Bodies who
“ may

“ may concur in the arrest of the Commis-
 “ sioners, are subject to any responsibility ;
 “ and that it is I, who faithful to my oaths,
 “ to the principles of the Declaration of
 “ Rights, to the Constitution decreed by
 “ the sovereign will of the nation, that it is
 “ I alone who require, as I have a right to
 “ do, all such measures as constitute resist-
 “ ance to oppression, the first duty of free
 “ souls.”

Signed, “ LA FAYETTE.”

At the same time a great number of the copies of an address to the battalions of the line and of the National guards was spread through the camp, where it produced a good effect. It was as follows :

“ Citizen soldiers ! The Constitution
 “ which you swore to maintain, no longer
 “ exists. The Marseillois and a troop of
 “ seditious people have attacked the Palace
 “ of the Thuilleries : the National and
 “ Swiss guards made a vigorous resistance,
 “ but their ammunition failing, they were
 “ obliged to surrender. The Swiss have
 “ been massacred. The King, Queen, and
 “ all the Royal Family fled to the National
 “ Assembly, whom the seditious, present-
 “ ing

“ ing themselves with fire and sword, have
 “ compelled to decree the suspension of the
 “ King; and this the Assembly have done
 “ to save his life. Citizens, you have no
 “ longer any Representatives; the National
 “ Assembly are enslaved; your armies have
 “ lost their chief, *Petion* reigns; the savage
 “ *Danton* and his satellites are masters.
 “ Now, soldiers, choose: do you wish to
 “ re-establish the inheritor of the Crown
 “ upon the Throne, or will you have *Petion*
 “ for King*.”

The whole army appeared extremely exasperated at these outrages: and if at that moment, which it was so important to have seized, *M. de la Fayette* had shown himself at the head of his troops, and made one of those magnanimous speeches with which a skilful General, possessed of the confidence of his soldiers, is always sure to lead them after him, it is more than probable that he would have determined his army to march immediately to deliver the King and National Assembly. A few simple precautions might

* These particulars were officially confirmed in the orders given by *M. de la Fayette* on the same day. See Appendix, No. XXXIV.

have

have ensured the success of this vigorous determination, which, besides, whatever had been its issue, would have loaded M. *de la Fayette* with glory. Certainly neither *Luchner* nor *Dillon* would have hesitated to follow his example, had he desired it of them; and *Dumourier* himself, on hearing that all these forces were marching to Paris, and receiving an order to join them, on pain of being immediately brought to a Court-martial, would have been influenced even by his ambition to obey. The Duke of *Brunswick*, informed by M. *de la Fayette* of the reasons for his departure, would have consented, without the least difficulty, to suspend all hostility till his return; and proper steps being taken to cut off all communication with Paris, which might easily have been done, the armies would have arrived there in a fortnight at farthest without being expected: in a few hours the rebels, the Jacobins, the factious, would have been all reduced or exterminated, and the King re-established on his Throne, with all the pleasing consequences which it may be imagined would have flowed from such an event. This is what M. *de la Fayette* might have

have attempted *constitutionally*: now let us see what he did do.

The Commissioners of the Assembly, three in number, arrived at Sedan on the 14th of August, accompanied by their Secretary. They were directly conducted to the Common Hall, where, after interrogating them, and examining their powers and passports, the Municipality entered into the following resolution: “ The Municipality, considering that at the time when the said Powers were conferred, the National Assembly, beset by the horde of factious persons who filled the Capital with blood and carnage, could not have acted at liberty, and that it could only have been to avoid greater crimes that they consented to the decree for suspending the King, a decree which violated the Constitution in the most outrageous manner—a decree, or rather monstrous act, which they must feel it their duty to revoke the moment that their oppressors shall leave them free; considering that all acts passed by them, or that shall be passed by them while under the influence of the assassin’s knife, must in like manner be deemed null; considering that if
“ the

“ the pretended Commissioners were Deputies, as they call themselves, they would not have accepted a mission destructive to the Constitution, and of which the object was to deceive the people, excite mutiny in the army, and remove from it the excellent Generals who command it, that of course they can only be regarded as emissaries of the faction who have usurped the powers expressly delegated by the National sovereignty; considering, lastly, that the King and his august family, as well as all the Deputies faithful to their duty, are still in the power of the factious, RESOLVE that the pretended Commissioners shall be put provisionally under arrest, with a good and sure guard, and shall in that state remain as hostages, until it shall appear evident that the National Assembly and the King are free, and have nothing more to fear from their oppressors.”

The very next day the army, whose anger had been allowed to cool, appeared dissatisfied at the Commissioners being arrested; and tumultuous groups, chiefly composed of the Members of the Club of Sedan, gathered about the house in which they were confined.

confined. A report was spread that *Dumourier*, after taking the new oath, and administering it to his army, had gone to Valenciennes to concert with the Commissioners who had been sent thither, on marching to deliver their colleagues: he was imagined already in fight at the head of his army. This was enough to strike terror through that of *M. de la Fayette*; the regiments all refused to renew their former oath of fidelity to the nation, the law, and the King, in spite of every thing that *Alexander de Lameth* could urge or promise to induce them to do it. *M. de la Fayette* finding that he was deserted, and deprived of every means of saving the Constitution, now only thought of saving himself and his friends. He quitted the kingdom by the forest of Bouillon, in the evening of the 19th of August, accompanied by *M. M. Bureau de Puzy, Alexander Lameth, La Tour Maubourg*, their Aid-de-camps, and his own, to the number of nineteen, leaving the following letter for the Municipal Officers of Sedan:

“ Gentlemen, if the last drop of my
“ blood could be of service to the Com-
“ mune of Sedan, they have a right to the

“ sacrifice of it, and it would be less pain-
“ ful to me than that I am making :
“ but when I foresee, for reasons which
“ cannot escape you, that my being with
“ you would in a few days serve only to
“ involve you, it is incumbent upon me to
“ avert from the town of Sedan misfortunes
“ of which I should be the cause ; and I
“ think the best service I can render it, is
“ to remove a head which all the enemies
“ of liberty have proscribed, which shall
“ never bend beneath any despotism, and
“ which, oppressed with grief at no longer
“ having the power for the present of being
“ useful to its country, finds no consolation
“ but in praying that the sacred cause of
“ liberty and equality, whose sacred names
“ profaned, if that can be, by the crimes of
“ a faction, may not long at least remain
“ subjected ; and in repeating his oath to a
“ Commune truly patriotic, of being faith-
“ ful to the principles which have animated
“ his whole life.”

The errors in the style of this letter proved the hurry in which it was written. Hence the friends of *M. de la Fayette* have argued to justify him for having made no mention in it of the shocking situation of the

the Royal Family, at which he ought to have been more affected than at the dangers of that liberty and chimerical equality which, in spite of the Constitution, had in France, till the Revolution of the 10th of August, been nothing more than words without meaning, used as the rallying cry of the Republican incendiaries and regicides.

The flying Generals and Officers had scarcely passed the frontiers, when they met a detachment of Limburg Volunteers. Count *d'Harnoncourt*, who had the command of it, seeing the National cockade in the hats of those Gentlemen, ordered them to be stopped. They suffered themselves to be disarmed without the least resistance. *M. de la Fayette*, on being questioned as to his designs, answered, that it was his intention to pass behind the Austrian army, in order to proceed to Maestricht, and thence to Holland and England, where he should embark for America. Count *d'Harnoncourt* made them take the National cockades out of their hats, and sent *M. M. de la Fayette, Bureau de Puzy, Latour Maubourg*, and *Alexander Lameth* to Luxemburg; where they were put into prison. They were afterwards removed, first to Wesel, then to Magdeburg, and lastly

to Olmutz. The inferior officers who were with them not having been, as they had, Members of the First Assembly, were set at liberty.

M. *de la Fayette* and his three Constitutional companions were no sooner taken, than they were impolitic enough to remonstrate against their detention, in a declaration which could not but injure them with the Powers at whose mercy they were. This declaration was another act of affection not only for the Constitution, but for the Revolution; it was drawn up in these words:

“ The undersigned *French citizens* torn,
“ by an imperious concurrence of extraor-
“ dinary circumstances, from the happiness
“ of promoting, as they have never failed
“ to do, *the liberty of their country*; be-
“ ing no longer able to resist the violations
“ of the Constitution which *the national*
“ *will* had established in it, declare that
“ they cannot be considered as military ene-
“ mies, having renounced their commissions
“ in the French army; and still less as
“ belonging to that class of their country-
“ men whom interests, sentiments, and opi-
“ nions directly contrary to theirs, have
“ induced to connect themselves with the
“ Powers

“ Powers at war with France; but as
“ strangers demanding a free passage, to
“ which they are entitled by the law of
“ nations, and of which they wish to profit,
“ to go with all due speed to a country, the
“ government of which is not at present at
“ war with France.”

Although this declaration could not but lessen the merit, already little enough, of the resistance which these officers had endeavoured to make against the Revolution of the 10th of August, it has been said that their detention, which in some respects might be just, was both irregular and impolitic. This question is of no moment now that those citizens, after obtaining their liberty, and being considered as victims of the despotism of the Foreign Powers, are known to have experienced fewer obstacles to their return to France, and admission to their property, than the far more interesting victims of the despotism of *Robespierre!* I shall only observe, that at a time when it was more material than ever to unite the Constitutionalists with the Royalists against the Republican party, it is possible that the example of *M. de la Fayette's* being unpunished when he was guilty, and punished when his

conduct merited some praise, may have been more prejudicial than useful*.

While these scenes were passing at Sedan and on the frontier, the Assembly being informed of the defection of *M. de la Fayette* took from him the command of the army of the North and bestowed it upon *Dumourier*, as a reward for his fidelity, or rather for his perjury†. General *Dillon* was at the same time punished for his Constitutional scruples by the mortification of serving under the man whom, two days before, he commanded; and his head, which was much worse than his heart, was so bewildered, that he submitted to the disgrace of serving, in the rank of Lieutenant-General, which the King had just conferred upon him, the execrable faction, who, after having long made *Louis XVI.* suffer the most shocking outrages, had at last dethroned him, and sent him and all his family to a prison.

* A decree for his impeachment was passed on the 19th of August.

† See the letter of thanks written by *Dumourier* to the Assembly, Appendix, No. XXXV.

The

The Commissioners arrested at Sedan were set at liberty soon after M. *de la Fayette* went away, and his army took the new oath without the slightest objection. The Assembly's fears as to the fidelity of the soldiers being thus removed, they empowered their Commissioners to direct in concert with the Generals, and particularly with *Dumourier*, the motions of the different armies, while they themselves, terrified and enslaved by the criminal instigators of the horrors of the 10th of August, favoured or partook in new crimes to cement the power of both. They decreed the abolition of all clerical and monastic dresses; the letting upon lease for rent the estates of the Emigrants, divided into small portions of two, three, and four acres, that the poor might be able to enter upon them without paying money down; and many similar acts. They were every instant worried, and often abused, by the deputations of the Commune, who almost always required that the decrees which they were charged to demand should be immediately passed. I will adduce a single instance, to give an idea of the tone assumed by this Commune towards the Assembly. It had been decreed, that the Swiss who had es-

caped the massacres of the 10th of August should be tried by a Court-Martial. The Brigands and Federates, still thirsting for blood, called loudly for the trial, or rather execution of those brave soldiers. The demand was laid before the Assembly by two different deputations of the Commune in the same morning: the speaker of the second expressed himself in these terms: “ The Council-General have deputed us to demand of you the decree for the Court-Martial; if it is not yet passed, we are instructed to wait for it.” A Member of the Assembly observed, that these Commissioners ought to be more circumspect in their language, and to remember that they were speaking to the Representatives of a great nation: but none of his colleagues dared to support his observation, and the Assembly decreed, without any discussion, that this affair should be sent before the usual Courts, and that the Sections of Paris should be authorized to appoint each two Juries for accusing, and two Juries for trying the men.

This decree did not promise victims enough to the fury of the people; the Commune was not satisfied with it, and *Robespierre,*

pierre, the usual speaker of these messages, appeared the same day at the head of a new deputation at the Bar of the Assembly, to whom he addressed remonstrances which showed but too clearly what was to be expected from that execrable monster, if it should ever be in his power to display the ferocity of his character. “ The just vengeance of the people,” said he, “ has not yet been satisfied since the 10th of August : some insurmountable obstacles which I cannot comprehend seem to prevent it. The decree you have passed we think insufficient, and, pausing at the preamble, I find that it does not contain, that it does not explain the nature and extent of the crimes to be punished by the people ; it speaks only of the crimes committed on the 10th of August, and that limits the vengeance of the people too narrowly, for those crimes go much higher. The most guilty of the conspirators did not appear on the 10th, and according to your decree it would be impossible to punish them. Those men who put on the mask of patriotism to destroy patriotism ; those men that affected to speak the language of the laws, to subvert all the laws ; that *La Fayette*,
“ who

“ who was not perhaps at Paris, but who
“ might be there; all these then would escape
“ the National vengeance! Let us no longer
“ confound times, let us see principles, let
“ us see public necessity, let us see the ef-
“ forts which the people have made to be
“ free. The people should have a Govern-
“ ment worthy of them; they should have
“ new judges created for the times; for if
“ again you give them their former Judges,
“ you will re-establish prevaricating Judges,
“ and we shall run back to the chaos which
“ had nearly ruined the nation. The peo-
“ ple place their confidence in you; pre-
“ serve it, and do not lose the glory of
“ saving liberty, to prolong unprofitably for
“ yourselves, at the expence of equality,
“ and in contempt of justice, a state of pride
“ and iniquity. *The people rest, but they*
“ *are not asleep.* They would have the
“ guilty punished;—they are in the right.
“ You ought not to give them laws which
“ are contrary to their unanimous opinion.
“ We beg of you to rid us of the Consti-
“ tuted Authorities, in whom we have no
“ confidence, and to put an end to that
“ double degree of jurisdiction which, by
“ creating delays, ensures impunity. We
“ demand

“ demand that the criminals should be tried
 “ at once, and without appeal, by Com-
 “ missioners named by each Section.”

On these remonstrances being formed into a motion by *Chabot*, the Assembly, still ready to pay a blind deference to all the desires of the Commune, immediately declared that a popular Court or Commission should try the criminals, and for the mode of conducting it they referred to the Extraordinary Commission, whom they charged to give an account of it before the Sitting broke up. *Brissot*, who was appointed to make this report, showed the many inconveniences and serious consequences which would result from the creation of the new Court desired by the Commune of Paris, and he proposed to make this important point clear to the citizens by an address, of which he read a plan, that was unanimously adopted; but the Commune paid no attention to it, and the very next day came and declared at the Bar that the people were impatient at not being avenged, and that at midnight they would hear the drums beat and the alarm-bell rung, unless the Assembly decreed before they broke up that a citizen should be appointed from

from each Section to constitute a Criminal Court.

Some speakers again strove ineffectually to persuade the Assembly that they ought to despise *these threats*, to rise to the height of their dignity, and to show that they were firmly resolved to die at their posts rather than authorize the establishment of an Inquisitorial Court that should arbitrarily dispose of the lives of all the citizens. These fine phrases were at first warmly applauded, and at one time it was thought that the Assembly were going to yield to them, but, unfortunately, their cowardice and all their terrors were again awakened by the voice of a Deputy of the Accusing Jury, commissioned by his colleagues to come and open the eyes of the Legislative Body, *who appear*, said he, *to be in utter darkness respecting what is passing in Paris*. He declared that if the people were not speedily satisfied, *great calamities would go through the Capital*. “ We invite you,” added he, “ not to be creeping in the track of the old
“ jurisprudence: it is by forbearance that
“ you have put the people to the necessity
“ of rising, for, Legislators! it is solely by
“ their

“ their own energy that the people have
“ saved themselves. Rise, Representatives !
“ be great like the people, and deserve their
“ confidence !”

This speech, less brutal than that of the Commissioner of the Commune, but equally menacing, instantly determined the Assembly to decree that an Elective Body should be immediately formed, composed of a Deputy chosen by each Section, to appoint the members of a Criminal Tribunal, for the purpose of trying, in the first instance, and without appeal, the crimes committed on the 10th of August, *and other crimes relative thereto, with all circumstances and matters connected therewith*: which Tribunal should be composed of eight Judges and eight assistants, &c. divided into two parts, each part composed of four Judges and four assistants, &c. This Court, this Tribunal, truly Revolutionary, invested with unlimited powers of life and death, and made up of men thirsting for blood*, was decreed unanimously !

* *Robespierre* was the first elected, but refused the office. He was also named with *Barere* and *Collot d'Herbois* by *Danton* to form the Council of Justice to the Minister of that Department.

The

The Assembly, doubtless with the idea of effacing the remembrance of the shame of the passive part to which the Commune had reduced them, or to veil it, suffered no opportunity to escape of passing, of their own accord, the most violent decrees, however absurd or unjust*. On the bare reading of an anonymous note, dated on the 11th of November preceding, said to be found in the King's chamber, and without any inquiry or previous discussion on the form or object of the paper, they passed a decree of impeachment (August 15) against all those who composed the Ministry at the time

* In consequence of a private letter, announcing that the Austrians were before Thionville, it was decreed, that the King, and the wives and children of the Emigrants should serve as hostages to the Assembly. Another decree passed the same day ordained, that the declaration of the Rights of Man should be stuck upon the portrait of *Louis XVI.* which his Majesty had given to the First Assembly, and which had remained in the Hall. The next day (August 16th) the Assembly decreed the abolition without indemnity of every kind of seigniorial and feudal rights, except those that should be proved by the original title to have been established in consideration of a grant of land. This decree was finally drawn up and enacted in the Sitting of the 20th of August.

this

this note, which was attributed to M. de *Leffart*, was dated. It was as follows :

The plan of the Committee of the Ministers settled with M. M. Alexander Lameth and Barnave.

- “ 1st, To refuse the sanction ;
- “ 2dly, To write a new letter to the
- “ Princes in a fraternal but royal style ;
- “ 3dly, A new proclamation respecting
- “ the Emigrants in a firm style, showing
- “ clearly the resolution of maintaining the
- “ Constitution ;
- “ 4thly, A demand, assigning reasons,
- “ addressed to the Powers, not to suffer on
- “ their territory any assembling, arming, or
- “ hostile preparations ;
- “ 5thly, To establish three Courts-Mar-
- “ tial, and to make, if necessary, new regu-
- “ lations relative to resignations, desertions,
- “ superceding, &c.
- “ The Minister of Justice shall carry the
- “ decree, with the form *le Roi examinera*
- “ written upon it, to the Assembly, and
- “ deliver it himself to the President. He
- “ shall then, speaking in his own name, state
- “ that the King would have concurred in
- “ in

“ in some of the regulations of the law,
“ (*that against the Emigrants*), but that
“ the sanction being indivisible, &c. He
“ shall say that the King has never lost
“ sight of this object. He shall recapitu-
“ late in a general manner what has been
“ done; the proclamation respecting the
“ Emigrants, and the letter which the King
“ has already written to the Princes his
“ brothers: he shall read the new letter to
“ be written to them; he shall announce
“ the regulations both old and new, of
“ which each Minister shall immediately
“ give an account.

“ The Minister for Foreign Affairs shall
“ state the former regulations, and show
“ the good effect they have produced on the
“ Emperor, by mentioning the orders he
“ has given in the Low Countries. He
“ shall also give notice of the new de-
“ mand.

“ The Minister of War shall give an ac-
“ count of what relates to him.

“ The Minister of the Interior shall say,
“ that the decrees already passed relative to
“ the payment of pensions, salaries, &c. are
“ carefully executed.

“ It is thought that afterwards the King
“ would

“ would do a very useful thing in demand-
 “ ing from each Department a certain num-
 “ ber of men to be placed in his guard.”

This note related to the message of the 12th of November, of which the object was, in fact, to announce to the Assembly that the King had refused his sanction to the decree which they had passed against the Emigrants. That decree contained regulations which the First Assembly had solemnly rejected as contrary to the principles, to the spirit, and to the letter of the Constitution. Ministers, faithful to the King and to their oath, could not therefore do otherwise than advise his Majesty to refuse his sanction to that decree, and at the same time, with respect to the Emigrants, to do every thing that was possible to attain more regularly the end proposed by the Assembly: and such was our conduct; and the very note on which the decree against us passed, was sufficient to justify us. I do not know whether the writing was *M. de Lessart's* hand or not, but the account it gave of what had passed at the meeting of the Ministers, held on the 11th of November at the house of *M. Duport du Tertre*, was certainly very exact. *M. M. Alexander Lameth* and

Barnave being on terms of intimacy with that Minister and *M. de Lessart*, had probably conferred with them upon it, but they were not present at the meeting. It is merely for the sake of truth, and with no design of exculpating those gentlemen that I mention this fact; for, even if we had concerted with them the wise and irreproachable plan drawn up in this note, it would have been no more a crime in them than in us*. It was, however, only against them that the decree of impeachment was originally passed, and we were not included in it till the observation was made by the *Abbé Fauchet*, that the Assembly, to be consistent, should include in the decree all the Ministers at the meeting †.

In this manner did the Assembly labour to justify the fulsome praises daily lavished on their firmness and courage in the harangues of all the deputations, and in numberless addresses of congratulation and attachment,

* It required all the impudence of the Deputy *Cambon* to dare to maintain that this paper was enough to convince the most incredulous, of the existence of the focus of conspiracy known under the name of the *Austrian Committee*.

† See my Private Memoirs, chap. XXXIV.

the

the reading of which alone consumed almost all their time, and at last disgusted the Legislative Body with their permanence*. To relieve themselves of the trouble and tediousness attending it, the Assembly decreed, that their sitting *still permanent* should in future not open till eight o'clock in the morning, and last till four; that in the afternoon it should open at six and last till eleven, and that in the intervals there should remain in the Hall only six Deputies in the day time, and thirty in the night, to receive deputations and dispatches, and to give notice, if there were occasion, to the other Members of the Legislative Body. Their personal safety in case of fresh troubles was the principal object of this precaution, for the Assembly were not able, nor even willing to concur in the maintenance of public tranquillity. Instead of sending away to the armies those courageous patriots, those Federates, those Marseillois, whose presence alone kept up the ferment and alarm in Paris, they daily admitted to the

* Praises undeserved always satiate the soonest, because they flatter much less than they mortify the vanity of him who receives them.

honours of their Sitting the Deputations of those self-named *effective and immediate Representatives of the universality of the Sovereign people*, and made it a point to attend with the greatest respect to all the demands they had the impertinence to make. Those brigands signalised their sovereignty in dictating laws to the Legislative Body, while waiting till circumstances afforded them a new opportunity of exercising, by assassinations in mass, the functions which their stupid ferocity attributed to the Executive Power. The Republican faction, of whom they were the blind instruments, neglected nothing to prevent their sanguinary rage, for which they still had occasion, from abating. For this purpose, the idea was suggested to them of celebrating some day with a funereal entertainment, *in honour of the manes of the noble martyrs of liberty* who perished on the 10th of August. This was also a powerful means of reviving, and farther exciting the ferment of the people against Priests, Nobles, and Royalty. The inscriptions and emblems prepared for this celebration had no other object. As soon as the day for it was fixed (August 26), a deputation of the Commune went and announced

nounced it to the Assembly, who decreed that sixty of their Members should attend the ceremony, and granted the money demanded of them for defraying the expences. Meanwhile they were informed, that the popular Commission destined to give regularity, by a show of judicious forms, to the condemnation and assassination of the persons said to be suspected, who were arrested after the outrages of the 10th of August, was formed, and would commence its functions on the 19th.

This monstrous Tribunal, which had been divided into two parts to render it more expeditious, looked only for victims, and the number of those which the Capital could yet afford to its activity appearing insufficient to the Commune, they undertook to make a provision. They accordingly sent a Municipal officer at the head of a battalion of National Guards, and a detachment of Marseillois, to the towns and country-houses in the vicinity of Paris and Versailles, under pretence of assisting the different Communes to get rid of the conspirators and Aristocrats who had fled to them for refuge. The houses, parks, and woods eighteen miles round were searched:

a great many supposed refractory Priests and some gentlemen were taken up and sent to the prison of the Abbaye; their papers were carried away, and arms of every kind seized and deposited at the Commune. The Municipal officer who was at the head of this expedition, on his return went to the Assembly, and gave an account in the most triumphant style of the immense and *important harvest* he had made; and they were mean enough to applaud repeatedly this atrocious violation of the laws.

The unfortunate Count *de Montmorin*, who after the 10th of August had gone to lodge at a washerwoman's in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, was discovered there on the 21st of August through the imprudence of the woman, who bought the finest fruits for him, and carried them home without taking any care to avoid the observation of her neighbours. This extraordinary purchase being repeated every day, too greatly exceeded the washerwoman's means not to be remarked. It was soon suspected that she concealed some Aristocrat of the first class, and her house was surrounded and searched: *M. de Montmorin* was taken in it, and conducted to the Bar of the Assembly, whither he

he had been cited some days before by mistake, on account of a Counter-revolutionary note found in the Palace of the Tuilleries, in the apartment which had been occupied by the Count *de Montmorin*, the Governor of Fontainebleau, a cousin of the Minister's. *M. de Montmorin* was examined, not only respecting the contents of the note in question, but respecting several facts relative to his administration, for which he had been censured six months before, and had completely justified himself. He retained his coolness and presence of mind during a long examination, and replied in so satisfactory a manner to all the questions put to him, that after he was heard, the President told him that the Assembly permitted him to withdraw; but when he went from the Bar he was taken to the Committee-room, under the officious pretence of protecting him from the fury of the people, and he was kept there all night. He was still there the next day, when the Assembly, on the proposition of the Commission of the Twelve, decreed, that as there were other articles of impeachment of a very serious nature against him, he should be provisionally put under arrest. He was sent to

the Abbaye* ; and on the 31st of August a decree of impeachment was passed against him on a report of the Commission of the Twelve, grounded, 1st, on M. *de Montmorin's* having sacrificed the interests of France to those of Austria in rejecting the plan of alliance with Prussia against Austria and Russia ; 2dly, on his having concealed the leagues and preparations of the Foreign Powers, and not having advised preparations to be made in France to prevent them ; 3dly, on his having concealed the designs and motions of the King's brothers.

There is not one of these charges that was not a scandalous piece of injustice. How could M. *de Montmorin* be suspected of high treason for thinking that it was

* M. *de Montmorin* was one of the first victims of the massacres of the 2d and 3d of September. His murderers, after striking him several blows, carried their barbarity so far as to impale him yet living, and in that manner bore him in triumph to the doors of the National Assembly, with the intention of laying this horrible trophy at their feet. They wished to present it to them at the Bar, and it was not without difficulty that they were prevented. Thus were verified the gloomy presages that for more than six months before had taken possession of M. *de Montmorin's* mind, from which I had endeavoured in vain to drive them.

more

more advantageous to France to avoid war by continuing faithful to its old allies, than to render it inevitable by entering into an alliance with Prussia against Austria and Russia? Had he adopted that plan, would he not have been more justly open to censure for having raised two such formidable Powers against France, instead of securing their assistance against Prussia? How could *M. de Montmorin*, not having any official intelligence of the secret coalition of the Powers, and informed of it only by the public papers, be blamed for not having made it known officially to the Assembly; and how could it be ascertained whether he had or had not advised in the King's Council preparations and measures which that circumstance might require? By what means could *M. de Montmorin*, who was far from possessing the confidence of the King's brothers, be informed of their designs and motions; and was it not absurd to reproach him for not revealing what he was ignorant of? The real crime of this Minister in the eyes of the King's enemies was, his having to the last moment preserved and merited his Majesty's confidence by an unshaken attachment. It was also of great consequence, no doubt,

doubt, to the success of the regicide conspiracy, to vilify, by odious charges, so irreproachable a witness of the virtues of *Louis XVI.* of the purity of his intentions, of his love for the French, of his ardent wishes, and of his sacrifices for their happiness. This too was the chief reason for the decrees of impeachment passed against almost all the Ministers whom the King had appointed since his acceptance of the Constitution, and who had not been so vile as to betray him*.

In the number of the faithful servants of *Louis XVI.* the virtuous *M. de la Porte*, the Comptroller of the Civil List, was one of the most criminal in the eyes of the factious, and he was accordingly one of the first victims of the popular Commission. He was accused before them of having employed the money of the Civil List in paying for libels tending to debase the National Assembly, foment divisions, and bring on

* *M. M. Duport du Tertre, De Lessart, Duportail, Tarbé, Bertrand de Moleville, Narbonne, De Grave, D'Abancour, Lajard.*—*M. M. de Montmorin* and *de Lessart* were massacred in the month of September 1792; *M. Duport du Tertre* was guillotined on the 28th of November 1793.

the

the ruin of the Government established. He declared, and he deserved to be believed, for he had never uttered falsehood, that the maintenance of the Constituted Authorities, was the sole object of all the writings of which he had encouraged the publication. He defied his accusers to mention a single one of his writings that belied this assertion: they mentioned none; but the Jury declared that they believed in the existence of a conspiracy against the nation, and were convinced that M. *de la Porte* was an accomplice in it. He was condemned unanimously by those villains, and executed on the 24th of August in the Square of the *Caroussel*. His life had been a model for virtue, and his death gave a great example of courage. "Citizens," said he, addressing the people after having his sentence pronounced, "may my death restore tranquillity in the Empire, and put an end to intestine dissensions! May the decision that deprives me of life be the last unjust judgment of this Tribunal!"

The Journalist *Durosoi*, editor of the Paris Gazette, a zealous supporter of Royalty, also submitted to his sentence, with an uncommon degree of firmness: he heard it without

without being moved, and as he went from the Court left a letter, which was publicly read; it concluded with these words: "It is a happy circumstance for a Royalist like me to die on St. Louis' day." He was guillotined on the 25th of August, at nine o'clock at night, by the light of torches. In thus varying the exhibition of this new kind of execution, it was no doubt intended to give it an additional attraction for the curiosity of the good Parisians, and this refined attention accordingly drew together an immense crowd in the *Caroussel Square*. The next day another variety was attempted, which gave double interest to the exhibition, but which cost the executioner his life*.

Why does the rigorous mandate of history impose upon me the severe task of retracing those horrible scenes, those disgusting pictures, that would pollute the annals of the most savage nations? But that such a Revolution may never again be experienced

* The executioner took the head of the person executed after it was separated from the body by the guillotine, and as he was showing it to the people, who were shouting *Vive la nation*, he fell from the scaffold and was killed on the spot.

by

by France, or any civilised nation, it ought to excite as much abhorrence as it deserves ; it must therefore be painted such as it was, and we now enter upon the period when its history, as others have said before me, can no longer be written but with blood and mire.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXXI.

Luckner appointed Generalissimo — The Command of the Army of the Centre given to Kellerman—The Fortrefs of Longwy surrenders to Clairfaye—Effect produced at Paris — Decree for banishing the Priests—Motion for a Corps of Regicides —Requisition of 30,000 men—Decrees for supplying the Deficiency of Arms— Other hasty Measures for augmenting the Military Force — Severe Decree against the Garrison and Inhabitants of Longwy—Struggle between the Assembly and the Commune for Power. Dissolution of the Commune decreed—The Execution

cution of it eluded—Tallien's Speech to the Assembly—The President's Reply—The Assembly panic-struck—The Commune triumph—The Clergy arrested generally—Abbé Sicard—Danton prevents the Enlargement of the Governor of Fontainebleau—Fresh Outrages heaped upon the King and Royal Family—D'Amourette's execrable Motion—Lord Gower recalled from Paris—Mr. Dundas's Letter—Le Brun's official Note in Answer—Note anticipating the Operations of the Duke of Brunswick's Campaign.

BY M. *de la Fayette's* defection *Dumourier* attained the most advantageous situation he could desire, and he was too ingenious not to make the most of it. His patriotic boastings and flatteries secured him the full confidence of the Assembly, already disgusted with the dotings of *Marschal Luckner*; and the more so, as the attachment of the old General was rendered suspicious by his connection with *La Fayette*, his equivocal conduct relative to the new oath, and some incivic expressions. His
removal

removal from the command of the army of the centre was already resolved by the Executive Council, and announced to the Assembly by the Minister of War*. *Kellerman*, named for that command on the recommendation of *Dumourier*, agreed with him not to accept it unless he were to continue to serve under *Mareschal Luckner*, whose patriotism and military talents they both ridiculously extolled, and by their testimony and sollicitation obtained for him the rank of *Generalissimo of all the forces of France*. His establishment was increased, a circumstance at least as interesting to him as the honour attached to his new dignity. His post was fixed at Châlons†, and his principal

* *Servan*, re-appointed to the office from which *Dumourier* had caused him to be dismissed two months before to put himself in his place, immediately became his best friend, blindly approved all his plans, and acted entirely by his advice.

† The resolution taken by the Ministers on this occasion will show the form of the acts issued by the Executive Council.—“ In the name of the nation, the Executive Council, considering that from the conduct hitherto maintained by *Mareschal Luckner*, and the desire expressed by General *Kellerman* not to take a command unless *M. Luckner* be *Generalissimo*, that there is no impropriety in giving him that rank; that by placing him

principal function was to be the medium of correspondence between the Generals and the Assembly. He was also charged to attend to the supplies for the armies, the formation of the camps of Soissons, Paris, &c.*

The Revolution had not yet shown that inferior officers, who had never before had the command of a hundred men, might suddenly become great Generals, capable of leading a hundred thousand men to victory ;

“ him at Châlons he will be conveniently situated to
 “ assist the Generals of the different armies with his
 “ counsel ; and that he may in that town form a
 “ reserve of troops for receiving the remains of armies
 “ beaten, RESOLVE, that he is charged as Generalissimo
 “ of the armies to concur in their operations by his
 “ counsel ; that he shall keep a register of their opera-
 “ tions, a copy of which he shall send to the Executive
 “ Council ; that without interrupting the direct cor-
 “ respondence of the Generals, he shall receive from
 “ them a copy of all their letters and communications,
 “ and that the Council shall send him a copy of all the
 “ orders they shall issue.”

* In order to occupy the inhabitants of the Capital and dispel their fears, it had been determined to form an intrenchment round the town : thither the patriots of every class, and people who affected to be patriots for the sake of safety, repaired in crowds every day to assist the workmen hired by the Commune.

and until *the principle of equality and the Marseillois hymn* effected this miracle, it had been as ridiculous as hazardous for the command of the French armies, not to have had a name more distinguished among Commanders than those of *Dumourier, Kellerman, Beurnonville, &c.* Mareschal *Luckner* was therefore Generalissimo in name, but *Dumourier* was so in fact, by the power which his credit with the Assembly and the Ministers gave him over the Generals whom he had appointed, and over *Luckner* himself, who was indebted to him for his new rank. This arrangement also secured him the advantage of being able to throw on the Mareschal almost the whole responsibility of defeats, and to leave him but a very small share in the glory of victories.

While the Executive Council were concerting with *Dumourier* on the new organization of the Staff of the army, General *Clairfaye*, at the head of 6,000 men attacked Longwy. This fortress, one of the keys of France, was defended by a garrison of more than 2,600 men, and 38 pieces of cannon, and was abundantly provided with mortars, bombs, balls, ammunition, and stores of every kind, yet it capitulated on the 23d of August,

August, after a fortnight's bombardment, although the breach made was not practicable, and only eight men and six women had been killed by the bursting of the shells. The Commandant of the Fort, *La Vergne*, being urged by the Administrative Bodies and the townsmen to surrender, yielded to their entreaties, and retired with the garrison to Verdun, where there was a considerable *depot* of provisions and military stores. On the same day all the National cockades at Longwy disappeared, none but white ones were seen there, nor any shouts heard but that of *Vive le Roi*.

This news was not officially known at Paris till the 26th of August, when it spread the greatest alarm throughout the town. The inhabitants thought they already saw the hullans at the gates of the Capital; they calculated the number of days, the number of hours it would take them to come. The Commune, the Federates, the Marseillois, were reproached with the 10th of August, and the Duke of *Brunswick's* manifesto, which had been so much laughed at, no longer appeared ridiculous. The affrighted Jacobins trembled and called *treason*; and the valour of the patriots assembled in public

lic houses rose with their wine, and fell as the fumes of it dispersed.

The terror that seized the Assembly showed itself not only in the decrees they passed, but by the eagerness of a great number of the Members to obtain from the Municipality, some under feigned names, passports to leave Paris, pretending *that they were going to rouse patriotism in Departments infected with Aristocracy*. Tallien, the secretary of the Commune, finding these applications increase, and guessing the real cause of them, took upon himself to forbid all the offices of the Commune to deliver any more passports to deputies till further orders. He then went and gave an account of his conduct to the Assembly, who approved it, and decreed that none of their Members should quit Paris, but on leave granted by the Assembly. Had it not been for this decree, which left the Legislative Body the power of removing from Paris when they were no longer safe there, they would have been soon dissolved by the desertion of the majority of their Members.

The dread that at so critical a juncture the Priests might use their influence to dispose
the

the people to join the foreign armies, suggested the most barbarous measure that had ever yet been taken against them. The Assembly, *considering that at that moment, when the French stood in need of their union, and of all their strength to repel the external enemy, they should employ every means to secure internal peace,* decreed, that all Ecclesiastics who were made subject to the oath, and who had not taken it, or who after taking it had retracted and persisted in their retraction, should in eight days quit the limits of the District and of the Department where they reside, and in fifteen days be out of the kingdom, on pain of being arrested at the expiration of that time and transported to Guiana. These regulations were extended to all such other nonjuring, secular, and regular Ecclesiastics, Priests, simple clerks, or lay-brothers without exception, for whose removal, six citizens residing in the same Department should apply. This was answering the double end of rendering the performance of the Catholic service impossible, and of driving from the kingdom several thousands of virtuous citizens whom there was no hope of attaching to a Revolution, which was supported

only by crimes, and which authorized them all. Will posterity believe that this Assembly of *Legislators*, of Representatives of France, listened without horror to a motion for organizing a body of 1,200 volunteer assassins, to go individually and attack the persons of every King at war with France, and also the persons of their Generals? Will they believe that this execrable motion* was adopted with such enthusiasm by the majority, that two of them (*Merlin* and *Chabot*) declared, *that as soon as their functions as Legislators ceased they would join this corps, which might be called the AVENGERS OF HUMANITY?* The final drawing up of the decree was however suspended, and referred to the Commission, on its being observed by *Vergniaux*, that if they organized a corps of *tyrannicides*, the coalesced Powers might also organize against France a corps of *generalicides* and of *deputicides*, and that the decree proposed might thus become a decree of assassination against the patriot Generals, and the Members of the Assembly. I must not omit observing, that in this debate, the

* It was made by *Jean Debry* in the Sitting of the 26th of August.

defenders

defenders of the proposed decree, considering it as a means of saving the nation from slavery, maintained that it was agreeable to the principles of nature, humanity, morality, philosophy, &c.*

* The most violent Revolutionists were anxious above all things to pass for philosophers, and no doubt thought to be acknowledged as such by obtaining a decree from the Assembly (Aug. 24th) declaring that the philosophers of foreign nations who had rendered service to the cause of Liberty, should have the title of French citizens. Two days after, they conferred by name this character on some turbulent and seditious foreigners, such as *Priestly*, *Thomas Paine*, *Hamilton Rowan*, *Anacharsis Clootz*, *Kosciusco*, &c. *Anacharsis Clootz* presented himself next day at the Bar to thank the Assembly for the honour they had done him. One may judge of the kind of philosophy which the Assembly meant to honour, by the mad speech this adventurer addressed to them: I will here insert the passages of it that were most applauded.

“ The cosmopolite philosophers were partners in
 “ your labours and in your dangers; you make them
 “ partners in your glory by declaring them French
 “ citizens. The errors of the Constituent Assembly
 “ and the horrors of the Constitutional Royalty, formed
 “ a wall of separation, of which the memorable 10th
 “ has left only the rubbish, which will be soon cleared
 “ away by the National Convention. *Charles IX.* had
 “ a successor; *Louis XVI.* will have none. Legis-
 “ lators, you know how to appreciate the heads of
 “ philosophers, it only remains for you to set a price

These regicides were at least as cowardly as they were savage, and all the decrees passed by the Assembly at this juncture bear the stamp of the extreme and often stupid terror which dictated them. They first enacted, that the Department of Paris, and the neighbouring Departments, should immediately furnish on a requisition 30,000 men armed and equipped. This decree was accompanied with the following proclamation :

“ Citizens, the fortrefs of Longwy has
 “ just been surrendered, or betrayed. The
 “ enemy is advancing. They perhaps flat-
 “ on those of tyrants. Humanity conjures you to
 “ raise a tyrannicide stout against *Fredoric-William*,
 “ and against the cannibal *Brunswick*. The *Timoleons*
 “ and the *Ankarstroms* have spilled some drops of
 “ an impure blood to stop a torrent of human blood.
 “ The cruel *Gustavus* would now have been making a
 “ terrible carnage on our frontiers, had not *Brutus*
 “ *Ankarstrom* devoted himself for his ungrateful country.
 “ A decree of proscription against the Monarchs of
 “ Pilnitz would speedily terminate a long series of
 “ calamities. As for me, full of gratitude for your
 “ last philosophic decree, I feel how much it honours
 “ me and how honourable it is to you. I take the oath
 “ of being faithful to the univerfal nation, to the
 “ equality, liberty, and sovereignty of the human race.
 “ At all times a Gallophile ; my heart is French, my
 “ soul is *sans-culotte* !”

ter

“ ter themselves that they will everywhere
 “ find cowards or traitors: they are mis-
 “ taken. Our armies are exasperated at
 “ this check, and their courage rises with
 “ it. Citizens! you partake their anger,
 “ the country calls you—stand forth!”

To supply the deficiency of arms produced by the enormous waste that had been made of them*, it was decreed, 1st, That Commissioners should be appointed to direct the removal of the artillery and small arms that were in the marine arsenals of Brest and Rochefort to Paris; 2dly, That the arms distributed to the Departments of the Interior should be provisionally given to the National Volunteers who were going to the frontiers, on condition of being replaced as soon as others could be made.

The Assembly, whose fears were little relieved by this levy of 30,000 men, which might not be so speedily effected as circumstances required, decreed at the same time

* Such was the deficiency, that according to the report of the Commissioners of the Assembly, the 4000 men who composed the garrison of Metz, and the volunteers sent to *Luckner's* camp, were most of them without arms or clothes. See the *Minutes of the Sitting of the 26th of August.*

that

that all the National Gendarmerie of the kingdom, foot as well as horse, should repair to different points that should be marked out, whence they might be sent either to the frontiers, or to the camp of reserve; and that, upon the requisition of the Commissioners of the Assembly to the different armies, the Generals should be held bound to arm in their precincts the battalions of Volunteer National Guards, and likewise the companies and other troops newly formed. By another decree, all the Colonial troops in France were made regiments of the line on the war establishment, that they might march against the enemy, and were promised the same promotion as the other troops of the line. Twelve Commissioners chosen from among the Assembly were sent into the Departments, to excite the citizens to fly to the frontiers. The saddle and carriage horses belonging to the Emigrants were seized and sent to the armies. The Municipalities were authorized to make domiciliary visits to search for arms, to give them to the defenders of the country, and to draw up a statement of horses and waggons that might be useful in
the

the war*. A few days after they were put into requisition †.

Had the half of France been invaded by the enemy, no greater preparations could have been made for defending the other half; and yet the taking of the petty fortrefs of Longwy was the only advantage that had been gained by the Austrians. The Assembly then must have been greatly terrified, or have had very little confidence in the force of the French armies, to send them such a quantity of arms and so many soldiers, with all the National Gendarmerie, at a moment when they were so much wanted in the interior of the country to repulse and disperse the bodies of armed brigands that infested several Departments.

* The chief object of the domiciliary visits was to arrest suspected persons, or those supposed to be suspected. *Danton*, who proposed this step, expressed himself thus: "Till now the gates of the Capital have been shut, and it was right. It was of consequence to lay hold of traitors; but were there 30,000 of them to be arrested, they must be arrested to-morrow, and to-morrow Paris must communicate with the whole of France. We demand that you authorise us to cause domiciliary visits to be made."

† Decree of the 1st of September,

The

The Assembly did not confine themselves to these measures; they determined, by a great example of severity, to prevent the conduct of the garrison and inhabitants of Longwy being imitated, and accordingly decreed that the Commandant and garrison should be tried by a court-martial; that the inhabitants of Longwy should be deprived of the rights of French citizens for ten years; and that as soon as that town was again in the power of the French nation, all the houses in it, national houses and buildings excepted, should be razed to the ground. They decreed likewise that every citizen, in a town besieged, who spoke of surrendering should be punished with death; and the Commandant was authorized to order the house of him who should give such a proof of cowardice to be demolished. In the preamble of these decrees, they recited that which prohibited the Commandants, on pain of death, to surrender any fortrefs to the enemy without the consent of the Administrative Bodies, and the latter to propose a surrender to the Commandants; so that if this decree had been put in force, no town besieged could ever have surrendered, even after the breach was

was

was made; consequently the garrison and inhabitants of all towns taken must, according to the laws of war, have been liable to be put to the sword.

After quieting the fears of the people, or rather their own, the Assembly thought themselves strong enough to shake off the yoke of the Commune, who continuing to act as if they were exclusively invested with the plenitude of the sovereignty of the people*, entered into resolutions contrary to the decrees of the Legislative Body, to whom they sent the most shocking demands, and always in the most threatening style. On the 23d of August they sent a deputation, the speaker of which delivered himself in these terms: “ It is time that the
“ criminals of Orleans (*of the National*
“ *Supreme Court*) should be removed to
“ Paris, to suffer the punishment due to
“ their crimes. If you do not grant this

* They put the following inscription on the front of the *Hotel-de-Ville* :

Obéissez au peuple, écoutez ses Décrets.
Il fut des Citoyens avant qu'il fut des Maîtres.
Le peuple par les Rois fut long tems abusé
Il s'est lassé du Sceptre et le Sceptre est brisé.

“ demand,

“ demand, we no longer answer for the
“ vengeance of the people. You have heard
“ what we have said, and you know that
“ insurrection is a sacred duty.”

The Assembly having ventured to break out into some murmurs on hearing this speech, one of the Federates who accompanied the deputation, addressed them and said, “ To refer this demand to the Com-
“ mittee of the Twelve is to devote it to
“ oblivion. We want a speedy vengeance
“ not by the old forms, but by a court-
“ martial.” The President, incited by the looks and gestures of the majority of his colleagues to act with firmness, replied, that threats produced no other effect on the National Assembly than that of confirming their resolution to die at their post. “ It
“ does not belong to us,” added he, “ to
“ change the Constitution, but to the Na-
“ tional Convention whom we have sum-
“ moned. They only can alter the nature
“ of the National Supreme Court. We
“ have done our duty. If our death is
“ necessary to prove it to the people, with
“ whose effervescence you threaten us, they
“ may take our lives. As interpreter of the
“ sentiments of the Assembly, I have made
“ them

“ them known to you; you may report
“ them to the Commune. I invite you to
“ the honours of the Sitting.”

The Assembly warmly applauded this reply, and passed to the order of the day, on the ground that it did not become them to deliberate on threats. The Commune were the more enraged at this spurt of energy, as it raised against them a multitude of complaints hitherto smothered by the terror inspired by their vengeance. Remonstrances were made against their usurpation of all the powers, against their avidity in sharing all the offices among themselves, against their system of degrading the Legislative Body, against the abuses of authority which they committed every day, particularly the suppression of the Committee of Subsistence, against the suspension of the Mayor, against their writs for bringing persons before them issued without authority, and for the enforcing of which they employed the most violent means*. Several depredations and purloining of effects were denounced to have

* They had caused the Hotel of the Minister of War to be invested with armed men, under pretence that *Girey-Dupré*, the printer, whom they had summoned to their Bar, was concealed in it.

been

been committed in a forcible manner by these faithless administrators, at the Thuilleries, the churches, the Garde-Meuble, &c. Some of these complaints were even supported by the testimony of the Ministers.

On these different charges the Assembly summoned the Members of the Municipality personally accused to the Bar, and decreed, on considering the remonstrances that had been made against the powers of the provisional Commissioners of the Commune of Paris, which had been already revoked by some Sections, that there should be nominated, in the course of twenty-four hours, two citizens by each of the Sections who should be assembled, to proceed to the said nominations; that the citizens so nominated should form provisionally, and till the next election of the Municipality of Paris, the Council-General of the Commune; and that immediately after the said elections, the present Commissioners should relinquish their functions*.

This

* The Assembly, foreseeing that this decree would bring on a most serious quarrel between them and the Commune, determined to add to the advantages they had gained, that of an increase of popularity; and, in
consequence

This decree, which annihilated the most monstrous power that the Revolution had engendered, was generally applauded by the good, a support too feeble in Revolutions, because they rarely have the energy of the wicked, and never such a variety of means of rendering it useful to their party: all that audacity, crimes, atrocity could supply, were familiar to the horde of brigands who composed the Commune; and they neglected none that could elude the execution of the decree which dissolved them. Let us see how they succeeded. The domiciliary visits to all the houses of the Capital in search of arms and suspected persons, and the examinations and vindications of the persons arrested, so fully occupied the Sections, that they would not have had a moment to proceed to the elections ordered by the decree of the 30th, even if the decree had been sent to them; and it will be readily imagined, that the Commune was in no great haste to forward it, nor does it appear that it was ever sent.

consequence, decreed that very day, amidst the plaudits of the galleries, that marriage was a contract dissolvable by divorce.

On the 31st of August, just as the Assembly had annulled a writ which the Commune had issued to bring some person before them, and had decreed that the President, (*Huguenin*), who had been summoned to the Bar, but had not appeared, should be brought, a deputation of the Municipality, with the Mayor and Procureur of the Commune at their head, presented themselves to demand the revocation of the decree of the 30th. *Tallien*, Secretary to the Commune, and speaker of the deputation, expressed himself in so remarkable a manner, that I cannot but report the principal passages of his speech.

“ Legislators! the provisional Representatives of the Commune of Paris have
“ been calumniated; they have been condemned without having been heard;
“ they come to demand justice of you.
“ Called upon by the people, in the night
“ between the 9th and 10th, to save the
“ country, it was their duty to do what
“ they have done. The people did not
“ limit their powers; the people said to
“ them, Go, act in our name, and we will
“ approve all you do. Have not the citizens of Paris always shown respect to
“ the

“ the Legislative Body? Their precincts
 “ have never been sullied but by the worthy
 “ descendant of *Louis XI.* and of the rival
 “ of Medicis. Is it not to the respect of
 “ the people for the National Assembly,
 “ that these tyrants are indebted for being
 “ still alive? You yourselves applauded all
 “ our measures. You have by us regained
 “ the eminence of the Representatives of a
 “ free people: it was yourselves who gave
 “ us the honourable title of Representatives
 “ of the Commune, and it was your will
 “ to communicate directly with us. All
 “ that we have done has been sanctioned by
 “ the people*; not by some factious per-
 “ sons, as it is represented, but by a mil-
 “ lion of citizens. Question them respect-
 “ ing us, and everywhere they will tell
 “ you, *they have saved the country.* If
 “ any among us have been capable of trea-
 “ chery, we demand, in the name of the
 “ Commune, that they should be punished.
 “ We have given no order against the liberty
 “ of good citizens, but we shall glory in
 “ having sequestered the property of Emi-
 “ grants. We have caused conspirators to

* The galleries attested this fact by their plaudits.

“ be arrested, and have consigned them to
 “ the Tribunals for their safety, and for the
 “ safety of the State. We have turned out
 “ monks and nuns, that we might put up
 “ the houses they occupied to sale. We
 “ have made domiciliary visits: by whom
 “ were we ordered to do so? By you. We
 “ have caused the refractory priests to be
 “ taken up; they are kept in a private
 “ house, *and in a few days the soil of li-*
 “ *berty shall be cleared of them**. Yes-
 “ *terday the citizens in our galleries again*
 “ *acknowledged us for their Representa-*
 “ *tives; they swore to us that they conti-*
 “ *nued their confidence in us.* If you
 “ smite us, smite also the people who ef-
 “ fected the revolution of the 14th of July,
 “ who consolidated it on the 10th of Au-
 “ gust, and who will maintain it. They
 “ are now met in Primary Assemblies, they
 “ are exercising their sovereignty; consult
 “ them and let them decide our fate. You
 “ have heard what we have said: determine.
 “ Here we are. The men of the 10th of

* In six-and-thirty hours after this they all had their throats cut in the church of the Carmes, where they were shut up.

“ August

“ August wish only for justice, and to obey
“ the will of the people.”

This insolent speech clearly showed that the Commune were not at all disposed to obey the decree which ordained their dissolution; and it was merely through a remaining regard to custom that they demanded the revocation of it of the Legislative Body, who had in reality no means of enforcing it*. This demand accordingly was accompanied by an appeal to the Primary Assemblies, and by a formal declaration that the Commune could not but obey the people, who, notwithstanding the decree, *had sworn the day before that they retained all their confidence*. The President's reply to this harangue proved that he fully comprehended the meaning of it. “ Would you,” said he, “ dishonour *our glorious Revolution*

* The Municipalities were not under the immediate authority of the Legislative or Executive Power, but under that of the Departments; and the new Commune had caused it to be decreed, that in every thing which did not concern the levying of the taxes, they should be absolutely independent of the Department of Paris, whose functions they had before suppressed, and the re-establishment of which they had permitted only on that condition.

“ by exposing to the whole Empire the
“ scandal of a Commune disobedient to the
“ general will, to the law? And what
“ would France say if this Capital, invest-
“ ing a provisional Council with a dictato-
“ rial authority, should attempt to separate
“ itself from the rest of the Empire, should
“ attempt to withdraw their submission to
“ the laws common to all, and to struggle
“ against the authority of the National
“ Assembly? But Paris will set no such
“ example. A decree was passed yesterday.
“ The National Assembly have performed
“ their duty; you will perform yours.”

The Assembly, enraptured with the firmness displayed by their President, were still applauding him, when three citizens were admitted to the Bar. “ People of the galleries,” said one of them, “ National Assembly, and you, Mr. President, we come, in the name of the people who are waiting at the door, to ask to march into the Hall to see the Representatives of the Commune who are here. We will, if it must be so, die with them.”

The firmness of the President was a little shaken by this sudden address, and the change appeared in his answer, which he
confined

confined to inviting these pretended deputies to go and tell their fellow citizens that the Assembly would equally maintain the liberty of the people, and the respect due to the Constituted Authorities. Several deputies observed in the mildest manner, that the Representatives of the Commune were in no danger, that the people, by marching before the Assembly, would occasion the loss of valuable time, and that they might be satisfied with choosing twenty persons, who should have the honours of the Sitting. "The people are free," cried the speaker of the petitioners, "and yet deprived of their liberty!"—"I ask," replied one of the Members of the Assembly, "whether we are free or not?" At these words they hurried away with looks of discontent and anger; at which the majority of the Assembly seemed to be very much alarmed, and their apprehensions increased, on observing the *Procureur* of the Commune go out immediately after those three men, whom they expected to see returning at the head of a large mob. The Reporter of the plan for a decree relative to the property of the Emigrants, read some of the heads of it, that the profound silence of the Assembly

at this moment might be taken for the silence of attention, and not that of terror ; but it was not easily mistaken. They listened, or rather had the appearance of listening, to the Reporter, but they did not hear him, and none of the articles he proposed were discussed. In a few minutes the *Procureur* of the Commune returned to the Bar, and said that he found no alarming assemblage at the doors of the Hall, but that he had caused *the three culpable petitioners* who had just gone out to be put under arrest. This happy intelligence was warmly and repeatedly applauded. The President told the *Procureur* of the Commune how much the Legislative Body were satisfied with this new proof of his zeal, and then hastened to break up the Sitting, to save the Assembly from the derision of the galleries, that already broke forth into insulting laughs at the *denouement* of this farce.

It is one of the most remarkable characters of the Revolution of France, that in the different National Assemblies which followed one after the other, and which were all the principal hot-beds of the Revolution, the minority voting for measures the most

most Unconstitutional, violent, or criminal, constantly prevailed sooner or later over the majority, who finally yielded, either because they were frightened or wearied out, or because wicked men have generally more energy and perseverance in doing evil, than good men have in opposing it. This melancholy truth never appeared in a more striking manner than in the dispute of which I have just given an account. The Revolutionary Commune had, properly speaking, no party in the Assembly; and the decree of the 30th of August for dissolving them had met with no opposition but from a very small number of obscure and insignificant creatures, at the head of whom was the most impudent of their class, the attorney *Thuriot*. That decree had been confirmed the next day by the reply which the President had made to the deputation of the Commune; and yet *Thuriot* succeeded in having it annulled two days after by another decree, which, without formally revoking that of the 30th, enacted that the Council-General of the Commune should be increased to the number of 288 Members, exclusive of the Municipal Officers; and that the Members of the Commune then
in

in office should make a part of that number, unless their places were already filled up by their Sections. This was evidently retaining them all, for nothing had been done in execution of the decree, and the Assembly were not ignorant of it.

So little did the Commune doubt that this would be the issue of the dispute, that they had not for a single instance suspended the course of their arbitrary arrests, of their plunder, and outrages of every kind. They indiscriminately arrested and shut up all the priests and other ecclesiastics whom their numerous spies could discover. In those horrible days, when the prisons of Paris suddenly became dens of carnage and of death, the Abbé *Sicard*, the only instructor of those who were born deaf and dumb, was dragged to one of them. This worthy successor of the Abbé *de l'Épée*, this beneficent reliever of the wrongs of nature, who was engaged in no other public employment than that of restoring daily to society unfortunate beings that seemed to be excluded from it, was himself torn from it by order of the Commune. After he had been arrested three days, his pupils not seeing him return to them, hastened in tears to the Bar
of

of the Assembly to beg that their instructor, friend, and father, might be restored to them; but notwithstanding all the weight which the virtues, the services, the miracles of the Abbé *Sicard* gave to this affecting petition, the Assembly, who had just before annulled an order of arrest issued by the Commune against the printer of the *Patriote François*, contented themselves with decreeing that the Executive Power should lay before them an account of the reasons for detaining this Ecclesiastic*.

The sanguinary atrocity of the Commune was powerfully seconded in the Executive Council by *Danton*, who may justly be considered as the basest and most audacious villain produced by the Revolution. This monster in the human form, who in consequence of the 10th of August had been appointed Minister of Justice, hearing that *M. de Montmorin*, the governor of Fontainebleau had been acquitted by the Popular Commission instituted to try the persons

* He owed his life on the 2d of September to the noble zeal of a watch-maker named *Monot*, who stood before him, and told the assassins, that they must pierce his breast before they reached the Abbé *Sicard's*.

arrested

arrested after the 10th of August without appeal, took upon himself to detain him in prison, and to order the Revision of his trial! The Revision, that judicial course, which the clemency of our Kings, as well as their justice, had opened only in favour of culprits condemned to too severe a punishment, was very well known to *Danton*, who had formerly been an advocate in the Council, in which character he had several times had occasion to make use of it before his Majesty's Privy Council, who alone were empowered to determine on those applications, and who never decided upon them till after a thorough examination of the proceedings. It was reserved for this wicked advocate, transformed to an assassin, Minister, to use this very term for the purpose of invalidating an acquittal solely on his own authority. But the greatest enormities were considered by the regicides as fair when practised against persons remaining faithful to the King, and one of the most unpardonable crimes at this dreadful era was daring to speak of the innocence and the virtues of the august prisoners in the Temple, and endeavouring to raise any compassion for them. The names of their Majesties,

jesties, particularly the Queen's, were scarcely ever mentioned in the Assembly but accompanied with abuse and the most heinous imprecations. Cannibals kill their prisoners and devour them, but their barbarity does not go so far as to inflict on them outrages and ill treatment before the moment of death ; they do not tear the husband from the wife, the mother from her children. In what class of savage animals then are we to rank that deputy, or rather that bloody-minded monster who, on the 29th of August, dared from the tribune to make the motion I am now to record. " I do not
" approve," said *D'Amourette*, " of *Louis*
" *XVI.*'s living with his family. You may
" be very sure that means have been already
" found to open a communication between
" the Temple and Coblentz, between
" *Marie-Antoinette* and the despicable re-
" mains of her former Court, who on the
" 10th of this month escaped the justice of
" the people. What ! is it not enough
" that this atrocious and bloody-minded
" woman, that this butcher of a woman,
" who, even at the bottom of the recess
" she inhabits, is meditating on the means
" of bathing herself in our blood ; is it not
" enough

“ enough that this woman still exists, with-
“ out your suffering her to enjoy the liberty
“ of venting her rage in the bosom of na-
“ ture, and of her renewing connections
“ abroad with all that can betray us? If
“ important considerations still keep you
“ from sending this implacable scourge of
“ the nation you represent to Orleans, at
“ least take such measures as shall oblige
“ the woman to vent her impotent fury
“ alone, and reduce *Louis XVI.* left to his
“ stupid nullity to correspond no more but
“ with shame and remorse. I move that it
“ be decreed, that the King and the different
“ persons of his family shall have no com-
“ munication with one another.”

Instead of rejecting with indignation this execrable motion, which the most stupid fury alone could have suggested, the Assembly contented themselves with passing to the order of the day, for this reason, that as the custody of the Royal Family was entrusted to the Municipality of Paris, it was their province to take the proposed measure*.

* This barbarous measure was adopted a short time after by the Municipality.

The Foreign Powers which had not entered into the coalition against France, but continued to support their former political relations with her, while the King preserved a show of liberty, did not hesitate to recal their Ambassadors and Ministers, when they heard that the King was confined in the Temple, and that they could have no communication with his Majesty or Ministers of his naming. The recal of Lord *Gower*, the English Ambassador, caused the greatest sensation at Paris, not only on account of the wisdom and moderation of the letter written to his Excellency by his Britannic Majesty's Minister, but of the lively interest that was expressed in it in behalf of *Louis XVI.* and the Royal Family. It was as follows :

Copy of a letter written to Earl Gower, English Ambassador at Paris, by Mr. Dundas, and delivered to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated Whitehall, the 17th of August 1792.

“ My Lord,

“ In Lord *Grenville's* absence I have received and laid before the King your last
“ dispatches.

“ His

“ His Majesty has been very deeply af-
“ flicted in receiving the information of the
“ extent and the deplorable consequences of
“ the troubles which happened in Paris ;
“ as well on account of his personal attach-
“ ment to their most Christian Majesties,
“ and the interest that he has always taken
“ in their welfare, as for the earnest desire
“ he has for the tranquillity and prosperity
“ of a kingdom with which he is on terms
“ of friendship.

“ As it appears, in the present state of
“ affairs, the exercise of the Executive
“ Power has been withdrawn from his most
“ Christian Majesty, the credentials which
“ have hitherto been made use of by your
“ Excellency *can no longer be valid*. His
“ Majesty is therefore of opinion, that you
“ ought not to remain any longer in Paris,
“ as well on this account, as because this
“ step appears to him the most conformable
“ to the principles of neutrality which
“ he has hitherto observed. His Majesty’s
“ pleasure therefore is, that you should quit
“ that city, and return to England, as soon
“ as you shall have been able to procure the
“ necessary passports for that purpose.

“ In all the conversations that you may
“ have

“ have occasion to hold before your depar-
 “ ture, you will take care to exprefs your-
 “ self in a manner conformable to the fen-
 “ timents herein communicated to you, and
 “ you will take especial care not to neg-
 “ lect any opportunity of declaring, that at
 “ the same time his Majesty means to ob-
 “ serve the principles of neutrality in every
 “ thing which regards the arrangement of
 “ the internal government of France, he
 “ does not conceive that he departs from
 “ these principles in manifesting, by every
 “ means in his power, his sollicitude for
 “ the personal situation of their most Chris-
 “ tian Majesties and the Royal Family.
 “ He most earnestly hopes that his wishes
 “ in that respect will not be deceived ; that
 “ the Royal Family will be preserved from
 “ every act of violence ; the commission of
 “ which would not fail to excite sentiments
 “ of universal indignation throughout all
 “ Europe.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ HENRY DUNDAS.”

*Official note in reply to the Communication
of this letter.*

“ The undersigned Minister for Foreign
“ Affairs has lost no time in communi-
“ cating to the Provisional Executive Coun-
“ cil the letter communicated to him by his
“ Excellency Earl Gower, Ambassador
“ Extraordinary from his Britannic Ma-
“ jesty.

“ The Council has seen with regret, that
“ the British Cabinet has resolved to recal-
“ an Ambassador, whose presence attested
“ the favourable disposition of a free and
“ generous nation, and who has never been
“ the organ but of friendly expressions
“ and of benevolent sentiments. If any
“ thing can abate this regret, it is the re-
“ newed assurance of neutrality made on the
“ part of England to the French nation.

“ This assurance seems to be the result of
“ an intention wisely considered and for-
“ mally expressed by his Britannic Majesty,
“ *not to meddle with the interior arrange-*
“ *ments of the affairs of France.* We are
“ not surpris'd at such a declaration, made
“ by

“ by an enlightened and high-spirited na-
 “ tion, who have been the first to acknow-
 “ ledge and establish the principle of na-
 “ tional sovereignty ; who, by substituting
 “ the empire of the laws, the expressed
 “ will of all, to the arbitrary caprices of a
 “ few individuals, have been the first to
 “ furnish the example of subjecting Kings
 “ themselves to this salutary yoke ; and
 “ who, finally, have not thought too dearly
 “ purchased, by long convulsions and vio-
 “ lent storms, that liberty, which has been
 “ productive of so much glory and pro-
 “ sperity.

“ This principle of the unalienable sove-
 “ reignty of the people is going to be dis-
 “ played in a striking manner in the Na-
 “ tional Convention, the convocation of
 “ which has been decreed by the Legif-
 “ lative Body, and which will, no doubt,
 “ fix all parties and all interests. The
 “ French nation has good grounds to hope
 “ that the British Cabinet will not, *at this*
 “ *decisive moment*, depart from that justice,
 “ moderation, and impartiality, which it
 “ has hitherto manifested.

“ Full of this confidence, which rests
 “ on facts, the undersigned renews to his

Z 2

“ Excellency

“ Excellency Earl *Gower*, in the name of
 “ the Provisional Executive Council, the
 “ assurances which he has had the honour
 “ to give him *viva voce*, that whatever
 “ relates to commerce between the two
 “ nations, and affairs in general, shall
 “ be carried on, on the part of the French
 “ Government, with the same justice
 “ and fidelity. The Council flatter them-
 “ selves that there will be a full reci-
 “ procity on the part of the British Govern-
 “ ment, and that nothing will interrupt the
 “ good understanding which subsists be-
 “ tween the two nations.

“ The Minister for Foreign Affairs,

“ LE BRUN.”

This impertinent note, which made no
 reply whatever to the sentiments expressed
 by the King of England on the situation of
Louis XVI. and the Royal Family, was
 much less addressed to his Britannic Majesty
 than to the English people, whom it flattered
 on their Revolution, on their liberty, and on
 the glory they had acquired in setting the
 first example of subjecting Kings to the Na-
 tional Sovereignty. The Executive Council
 thought, no doubt, that this note would
 render

render the Revolution of the 10th of August popular in England, and would fix the neutrality of that Power; but they did not know the English nation; they did not know that they were prouder of their Counter-revolution than of their Revolution, the excesses of which they continue to lament to this day*; nor that this wise and loyal people prided themselves not more on their attachment to the Constitution whence they derive their glory and prosperity, than on their love and veneration for the excellent Monarch to whom England owes her happiness, and to whom she is indebted for an illustrious example of virtue.

At the same period (September 1st) there appeared in the *Moniteur* another note, said to come from good authority, containing a very circumstantial account of the plan of the operations to be pursued by the armies of the Powers leagued against France. This note is the more remarkable, as the accuracy of it was sufficiently corroborated by the issue, to create a suspicion of treachery, or

* A National fast, kept every year on the 30th of January, the anniversary of the martyrdom of *Charles I.* solemnizes and perpetuates the horror of England for that execrable crime.

at least of very great indiscretion. The chief articles of it were as follows :

“ The troops of the patriots are to be
“ harassed as little as possible, to prevent
“ their becoming inured to war, nor are
“ sieges of any importance to be under-
“ taken. The armies shall not be exposed
“ to any considerable check to avoid giving
“ encouragement ; and when they attack, it
“ shall be on several sides at once, and with
“ superior forces ; and it must always be
“ kept in mind, that more than 200 leaders,
“ dispersed in the different cantons of France,
“ have points of rendezvous, and keep lists
“ of numerous signatures of persons who
“ are to join the army of the Princes as it
“ advances.

“ The combined armies are to march
“ towards fortified towns as if they meant
“ to besiege them, but they shall only take
“ possession of those which shall open their
“ gates, and leave detachments before such
“ as resolve to resist, to prevent the garrisons
“ from coming out.

“ On coming up with the armies of the
“ patriots, it shall be enough to encamp in
“ sight of them, and no battle shall be
“ fought without an advantage ; but in
“ the

“ the mean time large detachments shall be
“ sent to make themselves masters of the
“ country, and at every place favour the
“ motions of the Counter-revolutionists.

“ This point attained, while the Duke
“ of *Brunswick* keeps the patriot forces in
“ check with his different armies, the King
“ of Prussia shall advance with an army
“ chiefly Prussian, to act in concert with
“ the Austrian army ; and at this time the
“ army of the Princes shall march forward,
“ increased by the Counter-revolutionists of
“ the Interior, who for a considerable time
“ past were ordered or permitted to return
“ to France, according to the different
“ charges with which they were entrusted.

“ The King of Prussia shall march to
“ Paris, which shall immediately be reduced ;
“ by famine ;” &c.

This note may serve to explain several mysterious circumstances of the campaign of the year 1792, such as the raising the siege of Thionville, the long inaction of the Duke of *Brunswick's* army, and some other facts.

CHAPTER XXXII.

System of Terror—Domiciliary Visits—A great Number of Persons arrested—Verdun besieged—Robespierre denounces Brissot and the Gironde Faction—The Plan of the Massacres of September settled by Danton and others—Proclamation for forming an Army to march against the Duke of Brunswick—Decree investing the Executive Council with arbitrary Power—Horrid Massacres at the Abbaye, the Carmes, and St. Firmin—These Horrors the Consequences of a premeditated Plan—Scandalous Conduct of the

the Assembly—Tallien's Defence of the Massacres—Resolution not to defend the Temple against the Mob—Elizabeth Cazonotte—The Princess de Tarente—Massacres at the Hotel de la Force—The Princesses de Lamballe—Mob at the Temple—Dreadful Situation of the Royal Family—The Duke of Orleans suspected of ordering the Murder of the Princesses de Lamballe—Massacres at the Bicetre—Verdun taken—General Panic—Danton usurps the whole Executive Power—Roland—The Continuance of the Massacres justified by Hirelings—The People not Accomplices in the Massacres, which were intended to be general throughout the Kingdom—Removal and Massacre of the Prisoners confined at Orleans.

THOSE men of blood who had been the means of establishing the popular tribunal, in order to supply, by its activity, the tardiness of the proceedings of the National Supreme Court, soon found that it was neither sufficiently expeditious nor sufficiently severe. It hardly got through a trial in

in a day, and had already deviated from the object of its establishment so far, as to acquit some of the persons accused. This was allowing the taste of the people for executions to cool, the Revolution to grow languid at the moment of its greatest energy, and running the risk of suffering a great number of its victims to escape. The Commune saw no other way of preventing all these dangers, of repairing all these errors, than that of giving new force to the principal Revolutionary spring, terror; and they undertook the work with the less scruple, as from its success they also expected the confirmation of their own authority, which the National Assembly had shaken a little. The Minister *Danton* seconded this project as much as he could, by obtaining authority for the Municipalities to make domiciliary visits; and this terrible act of the most odious despotism was carried into execution in the Capital, in the name of liberty, with a violence unknown in the history of any country. The decree that authorized it was passed on the 28th of August, and immediately sent to the Commune, of which *Robespierre* was then President.

sident. The orders for the execution of it were instantly made out and directed to all the Sections; the barriers were shut at four o'clock in the evening, the drums beat the *generale*, and an order of the Commune gave all the citizens notice to be at home at six.

This order spread alarm and consternation through every worthy family in the Capital. It was aimed not only at the nobles and priests, but at the citizens of every class who had signed the famous petition of the twenty thousand, and who were said to be included in the lists of proscription. All who were afraid of being arrested made use of the little time the order of the Commune left them, in seeking a hiding place, in which they might shun the domiciliary visits. Closets concealed by painted paper or sham pannels, cellars, lofts, chimnies, and sinks, sheltered a great many: some hid themselves in empty casks, others under piles of fire-wood, under bundles of straw, between mattresses, and in old rolls of tapestry. Several took different disguises, and went for refuge to the rooms of labourers, washerwomen, women of the town whom they

they had never known *, and even to the beds of hospitals between the dead and the dying !

At length the fatal hour struck, and warned the affrighted citizens home. At the same instant the tradesmen shut up all their shops, the carriages all retired, and in the noisiest and most frequented streets all was still, and not a creature to be seen. Within the houses every family, not protected by some great villain, presented a picture of despair and terror. Each trembled for himself, for his children, for his friends, and for his property. The arrival of the Commissioners of the Sections was expected and watched for with the extreme of anxiety; but the domiciliary visits did not begin till one o'clock in the morning. The Commissioners were attended by patrols of sixty men armed with pikes, who in all the streets protected their operations, prevented the inhabitants of the houses not visited from going to those that had been

* These were the safest, and this night of horror produced at least several examples of vice deceiving villany, to protect virtue.

visited

visited, and served as a guard for the persons taken up as suspected. The continual motion of so many armed men, the knocking at the doors violently repeated to have them opened, or to force such houses as had been left by the inhabitants; the complaints of those dragged away to the Sections, the swearing of those who had charge of them, and the clamours of the patriots in all the public houses, kept the Capital in a frightful uproar through the remainder of the night. More than 3000 persons, pretended to be suspected, were arrested. Some of them were released the next day, but the following days the arrests continued to be made. The prisons and National buildings, that is to say, the churches, convents, and seminaries, converted into places of confinement, were filled: not only Royalists and priests were shut up in them, but several Constitutionalists, and some moderate patriots of different Sections. It was on this occasion that the Section *des Lombards* entered into a resolution, by which they declared the Council-General of the Commune *usurpers*, withdrew their Commissioners from them, and invited the other Sections

Sections to do the same*. *Tallien* and some other Members of the Commune, as great villains as himself, did every thing they could, but in vain, to raise the people against the Section *des Lombards*. One of the speakers who had the most contributed to the adoption of the resolution (*Louvet*) was denounced in the Tribune of the Council-General as a Counter-revolutionist by *Robespierre*, who carried his fury so far as to demand his head; and he owed his life only to the report that was spread of his being arrested. These outrages did not prevent some other Sections from following the example of that of the *Lombards*. The Ministers themselves, perpetually fettered in the exercise of the Executive Power by the enterprises of the Commune, which were favoured only by *Danton*, had complained to the Assembly. It is true, that as a punishment for their audacity, they were declared *suspected*, and marked out for popular vengeance by placards stuck up about

* This resolution was one of the chief reasons for the decree for dissolving the Commune; a decree which the Assembly did not dare to enforce, and which their cowardice led them to annul a few days after by modifications.

the

the streets; and *Roland*, notwithstanding all his popularity, was summoned by *Robespierre* to the Bar of the Council-General.

The Commune did not confine themselves to these petty means, which *Marat*, one of their principal Members, called *demi-mesures*. He had computed, and daily repeated in his paper, that there remained 300,000 heads to be cut off, in order to consolidate the Revolution, liberty, the sovereignty of the people, &c. It was more blood that this monster wanted; and the Commune did not let him wait long for it.

It was heard at Paris on the 1st of September, that Verdun was besieged, and that it was not provided with any means of defence. The Jacobins, quick in taking advantage of every occasion, thought only of turning the general alarm spread by this news, in favour of the Commune. Their emissaries, mixing with the crowded groups formed at the Palais-Royal, and in all public places, shouted *treason*, and maintained that the Duke of *Brunswick* would never have dared to penetrate so far into the French territories, if he had not entered into a secret treaty with some Members of the Executive Council, and even with the Assembly.

Several

Several vague denunciations, but all tending to the same end, were made on the same day to the Council-General of the Commune; and when *Robespierre* thought that the credulity of his auditors was sufficiently raised to admit the grossest impositions, he darted to the Tribune, as if transported with indignation and patriotism. "No one then," said he, "dares to name the traitors. If that be the case, for the good of the people I will name them. I denounce the liberticide *Brissot*, the Girondin faction, and the corrupt Commission of the Twenty-one of the National Assembly. I denounce them for having sold France to *Brunswick*, and for having received in advance the price of their treachery. I engage to produce tomorrow the proof of this execrable plot*."

In the night of September 1st, *Danton* assembled at his house the greatest villains of the Jacobin Club and of the Commune, and settled with them definitively the plan of all the crimes which were to fully the

* The Commission of the Twenty-one, the Girondists, and *Brissot*, had been the chief promoters of the decree for dissolving the Commune: *inde ire*.

follow-

following days: those days of blood and horror, the remembrance of which would alone suffice to stamp a lasting shame on the Revolution of France, and to devote the authors of it to the execration of posterity.

On Sunday, September 2d, at eleven o'clock in the morning, two Municipal Officers appeared at the Bar of the Assembly, and gave notice that the Council-General had resolved that the *tocsin* should be rung in Paris, the drums beat, the alarm-gun fired, and that all the patriotic citizens of Paris and of the adjoining Departments should be invited to assemble in the *Champ-de-Mars*, to march against the enemy; that in the meantime the Council were to send Commissioners on the road to Châlons, to invite the citizens to join those who were to go from Paris; and that the Municipality had just published the following proclamation:

“ Citizens, the enemy are at the gates of
 “ Paris; Verdun, which stops them, can-
 “ not hold out more than a week; the
 “ citizens who are defending it have sworn
 “ to die rather than surrender: this is tell-
 “ ing you that they are making a rampart
 PART II. VOL. III A 2 “ of

“ of their bodies for you ; it is your duty
“ to fly to their assistance. Citizens, march
“ immediately under your colours ; let us
“ assemble in the *Champ-de-Mars*, and let
“ an army of 60,000 men be formed di-
“ rectly. Let us go and expire under the
“ blows of the enemy, or exterminate them
“ with ours.”

These measures were all warmly applauded by the Assembly. “ It is now,” cried *Vergniaux*, “ that Paris must show herself truly great. I recognise her courage in the step she has just taken, and now it may be said the country is saved. It seems that the plan of our enemies is to proceed to Paris, leaving behind them the fortresses and our armies, which are not strong enough to attack them, but which can follow them, annoy them, and cut off their communications ; and if, at a determined point, we suddenly present them a formidable front, if our brave Parisian army take their van, while our battalions following them, attack their rear, then shall they be swallowed by that earth which they have profaned by their sacrilegious march : but amidst these
“ flattering

“ sang and celebrated liberty ; the point
 “ now is to defend her. It is not Kings of
 “ bronze that we have to overturn at pre-
 “ sent, but Kings surrounded with power-
 “ ful armies. I move that the Assembly
 “ send immediately, and every day, twelve
 “ Commissioners to the camp, not to exhort
 “ by empty speeches the citizens to work,
 “ but to dig the ground themselves ; for
 “ there is no longer any time for speaking.
 “ We must dig the grave of our enemies,
 “ for every step they advance digs ours.”

This motion excited general acclamations,
 and was unanimously decreed. *Danton*,
 who with his colleagues were present at this
 Sitting, seized this moment of enthusiasm
 and terror to obtain a decree, investing the
 Executive Council with the most unlimited
 and arbitrary power. He magnified the
 services rendered by the Commune, and the
 importance of the measures they had just
 taken at his instigation. “ It is at this mo-
 “ ment,” said he, “ that you may declare
 “ that the Capital has merited well of all
 “ France. The *tocsin*, which is going to
 “ be rung, is no signal of alarm ; it is the
 “ charge to attack the enemies of the coun-
 “ try.

“ try. To conquer them, Gentlemen, we
“ must put on boldness; boldness, more
“ boldness, and France is saved. We be-
“ seech you to concur with us in directing
“ this sublime feeling of the people.”

These observations were rapturously ap-
plauded, and followed by the following
decree :

“ The National Assembly decree, 1st,
“ That all those who shall refuse either to
“ serve personally, or to give their arms to
“ those who are willing to march against
“ the enemy, shall be declared infamous,
“ traitors to the country, and deserving of
“ death. 2dly, The same shall be declared
“ of those who directly or indirectly shall
“ refuse to execute, or shall in any manner
“ whatsoever impede the orders issued, and
“ the measures adopted by the Executive
“ Power. 3dly, That twelve Commission-
“ ers from the Assembly shall be named
“ immediately to join the Executive Power,
“ and support its measures.”

It was one o'clock in the afternoon when
the Assembly passed this fatal decree, which
conferred the dreadful power of life and
death on the Executive Council, or rather
on *Danton*, who took upon himself the

whole exercise of it. At the same time the proclamation of the Commune was issued and made public, the alarm-gun was fired, the sound of the tocsin and the beating of the drums were heard everywhere. Persons on horseback, coaches, cabriolets, and even the *voitures de place*, were stopped indiscriminately in the streets, and all the horses taken and sent to the Sections, to be employed for the carriage of the artillery. Several carriages, full of priests, who were departing in obedience to the decree which ordained their banishment, were stopped at the barriers, and led back to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, escorted by a crowd of Marseillois and Federates, who repeated in their savage songs, *that they were going to make the Calotins dance the Carmagnole*. The Municipality, instead of protecting those good priests in their submission to the law, and securing them a free passage, sent them to the Abbaye and the convent of the Carmes. They were followed by a crowd that increased every moment in number and rage. The Marseillois discontinued their songs to bellow shouts of death. "While we are gone," cried they, "to shed our blood for the country and liberty, shall we leave
" our

“ our wives and children exposed to the
“ daggers of fanaticism and Aristocracy?
“ No, no. Perish all Counter-revolution-
“ ists!” Three carriages, crowded with
these virtuous priests, arrived together at the
Abbaye: those who went out of the two
first were suffered to go in the cloister; but
scarcely was the door of the third opened,
when there was a cry among the people that
they had some secret intelligence with the
other prisoners, that they had made signs
to them, which those at the windows had
answered; at that instant the priests coming
out of the third carriage, and those already
in the cloister of the Abbaye, were all mas-
sacred.

The news immediately spread through
the town that the people were killing the
priests; and although the Sitting of the
National Assembly, of the Commune, of
the Sections, of the Municipality, was
permanent, not one of those Constituted
Authorities gave any order to put an end to
the horrible carnage; and the Executive
Council remained equally unconcerned.

The priests at the gate of the Abbaye
were but the first victims of the fury of
the brigands; almost all the prisoners who

had been shut up there since the 10th of August shared the same fate. They who escaped owed their lives to the fatigue of their butchers, who, after about twelve hours' continued massacre, having scarcely strength to raise the instrument of death, took it into their heads, by way of breathing a little, to form a Criminal Tribunal composed of Judges chosen from among themselves, before whom the prisoners still living were brought one after another to take their trial*. They were questioned by the President. Those whose names were accompanied with no charge on the books of commitment, and who could prove that they had been arrested by mistake, were declared innocent, and were led in triumph to the

* The President, sometimes sitting, sometimes standing, with a cutlafs in his hand, was at a table on which were papers, an inkstand, pipes, and bottles. Round the table were ten persons, some in their shirt-sleeves and aprons, others stretched at their length asleep on benches, waking at times to join mechanically in the shouts they heard. *Maillard*, the bailiff, an inhabitant of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, was the President; the same man who had been seen playing a principal part at the taking of the Bastille, on the 5th and 6th of October 1789, and on the 10th of August.

gates of the Abbaye, where, before they obtained their liberty, they were obliged to submit to receive kisses from the blood-clotted lips of the executioners, who, whether careffing or cutting throats, shouted with the same transports of joy or fury, *Vive la Nation!*

The prisoners entered on the book as Counter-revolutionists, suspected persons, &c. were also tried *for the form*; but all that they could allege in their justification was without effect: as soon as they were done speaking, the President ordered *that they should be carried to Laforce**. Ignorant that this was the form adopted by the Tribunal for the sentence of death, and imagining that they were to be removed to the prison of the *Hotel de Laforce*, they suffered themselves to be led without resistance to the gates of the Abbaye, where the moment they arrived they fell beneath the blows of the assassins. When these villains were fatigued with their work, to rest themselves they went and sat among the Judges, who went in turn to perform the office of executioners. At times, however, this Tri-

* *Qu'on les conduisit à Laforce.*

bunal of blood was thought not to be sufficiently expeditious; and in some of the intervals between the sentences the assassins murmured at having nothing to do. In one of those intervals, some of them more impatient than their comrades, leaving their post, went and broke in the doors of a cell in which some prisoners had barricadoed themselves, and massacred all they found there, though the Tribunal had not yet decided their fate*.

When all the priests found in the dungeons of the Abbaye had been sacrificed, the Swifs who had been carried thither *for their safety* were loudly called for by the assassins. The subaltern officers were all massacred without examination or trial. Captain *Reding*, confined to his bed by the wounds he had received on the 10th of August, was laid hold of by the murderers, who finding that he could not walk, hoisted him upon their shoulders to carry him to the place of execution; but on the way one of them, tired of the piercing cries forced

* It was then two o'clock in the morning of the 3d of September, and the massacre had commenced the day before at two in the afternoon.

from

from that brave officer by pain, fawed his throat with his cutlafs, on the back of his comrades, who knew nothing of his death but by the ceasing of his cries.

Were I to give an exact account of all the atrocities, of all the refinements of barbarity with which the 2d, 3d, and 4th days of September were sullied, -were I to bring in view the immense heaps of mutilated and palpitating corfes piled before the gates of all the prisons of the Capital, were I to paint the indefatigable, ferocious murderers covered with gore, and drinking the blood of their victims, mixed with brandy, to make their intoxication more furious, and were I to include in the scene an immense crowd of curious and idle people glutting their stupid looks with this execrable fight, it would form the most horrible picture ever yet offered by the history of nations. I shall confine myself to sketching some of the prominent traits of it.

All the priests who were at the Abbaye being massacred, the other houses of confinement, where a much greater number of them had been shut up, were opened to the assassins. They went first to the convent of the Carmes, to which the Municipality had
a few

a few days before sent 185 priests, including an Archbishop and two Bishops, namely, the Archbishop of *Arles* (*Dulau*), formerly agent to the clergy, and one of the most distinguished prelates of the church of France for his profound knowledge, his zeal, and his virtues; the Bishop of *Beauvais* (*La Rochefoucault*), and his brother, the Bishop of *Saintes* *. They were all put out of the church half an hour before the arrival of the assassins, and sent into the garden, after their names had been called over to ascertain that none were wanting. The threatening shouts which they heard on all sides, the pikes and swords which they saw glittering through the iron gates and windows about the garden, all convinced them that their last hour was come, and they waited for it with the most heroic resignation.

As the clock struck four, the assassins entered the church, bellowing oaths and imprecations most suited to excite their rage, and

* The latter was not arrested by the Municipality; but the moment he heard that his brother was in prison, he went to him, in spite of the urgent entreaties of his relations and friends, and determined to share his fate.

stimulate

stimulate them to the greatest crimes. After searching, to be certain that no priest had concealed himself in the church, they went out of it by the door leading to the garden *. This door, guarded by the National Gendarmerie, was thrown open to them without the least resistance. At their approach the priests separated, and some of them, in the hope of saving themselves, began to climb up trees, or scale the walls to get into the streets or courts of the adjacent houses; these were the first pursued, and were almost all of them brought down by musket shots, then mangled with cutlasses, pikes, and bayonets; others ran to different parts of the garden, where they patiently waited their destiny; and a group of about thirty went with the three prelates into a little chapel at the extremity of the garden; there, on their knees, they implored God's mercy, blessed one another, and reciprocally embraced for the last time. As ten of the brigands advanced towards them, one of the priests went forward to speak to them, but

* The gate of the church which opened to the *Rue Vaugirard* remained shut at the time of the massacre: the people took no part in it.

he was immediately shot and fell. The assassins then called for the Archbishop of *Arles*, and nobody answering, one of them discovered him by a mark of which he had been told.

“ So,” said he to him, “ you are
“ the Archbishop of *Arles*?” — “ Yes,
“ Sirs, it is I,” replied the Bishop coolly.
“ Ah, wretch! is it you that caused the
“ blood of the patriots of *Arles* to be spilled?” — “ Sirs, I never caused the blood
“ of any one to be spilled, nor in my life
“ have I ever done harm to any person
“ whatever.” — “ Well, then, I will do
“ you some;” saying which the villain
gave him a cut with his sword on the forehead; but at this the Archbishop did not stir; he received a second cut across his face, which made his blood gush all over him; a third stroke threw him down, and he fell without suffering the slightest complaint to escape him. One of the villains thrust his pike into his breast with such violence, that he could not take it out again; he then stepped upon the quivering body, which he trampled under foot, forced out his pike broken, and stealing his watch, held it up with an air of triumph to his comrades, as
the

The trophy and just recompence of his ferocity. Thus was completed the martyrdom of this venerable prelate, who died, as he had lived, an honour to religion.

During this horrid scene the Bishops continued kneeling at the foot of the altar with the priests who had joined them: there was an iron gate between them and the assassins, who fired several times upon them quite close, and killed the greater number. The Bishop of *Beauvais* survived this attack, and the Bishop of *Saintes* only had his leg broken. The ten assassins then joined the others who were pursuing and slaughtering the priests in different parts of the garden. This horrible butchery had been going on for near a quarter of an hour, when a man, sent no doubt by *Danton*, ran in and put a stop to it, by crying out to the assassins, *Sirs, this is not what you ought to do; you go the wrong way to work; do as I shall tell you.* He then directed them to put all the priests into the church; there were nearly a hundred of them remaining. All who could walk were driven in with blows from the broad part of the cutlasses of the murderers. The Bishop of *Saintes* having his leg broke, was carried in and laid on a couch.

couch. The director of this new manoeuvre then stationed a sufficient number of assassins at the foot of the steps leading to the garden, and had the priests led out two by two; as they came to the spot their throats were cut. When it was the Bishop of *Beauvais*' turn, he was called from the altar, at the foot of which he was kneeling; he rose, went, and died. The Bishop of *Saintes* was one of the last called. The National Gendarmes standing round his couch prevented his being seen, and seemed willing to save him; but these wretches, though equal in number to the assassins, and better armed, suffered him to be carried away. To his murderers, who ordered him to follow them, he said, "I have no objection to go and die like the rest, but you see the condition I am in, one of my legs is broken; I beg you will assist me in going." Two brigands took him under the arms and led him to execution.

At half after seven in the evening the massacre of the priests drawing to an end, either from there remaining but few victims to be slaughtered, or from the executioners being tired, the doors of the church were opened to the people, that they might sanction,

tion, at least by their presence, the horrible crimes that had been perpetrated, and insure impunity. A man advancing from the crowd towards the assassins, dared to speak to them of humanity, and by flattering them succeeded in saving some of the priests remaining, whom he made pass behind him *. "The people," said he, "are always just in their vengeance, and the priests are wretches, who, death excepted, deserve every kind of punishment; but the law requires that they should be tried." The number of those saved by this speech, and of those who escaped by scaling the walls of the garden, amounted in all to thirty-four: there were 151 massacred, and some laymen shut up in the Carmes shared the same fate. At the seminary of St. Firmin the number of the priests was 88, of whom only 15 escaped the martyrdom.

* It was from the priests thus saved that these facts were made known to a French Journalist (*Peltier*) who published them in London in the beginning of the year 1793. The accuracy of the interesting narrative he gave of them having been since confirmed to me by an eye witness, I thought it incumbent upon me to report them here.

These horrible events, first announced by *Tallien*, and afterwards by *Danton*, in the speeches they made in the Assembly, were not the unforeseen effects of a popular commotion, or of a spontaneous insurrection of the brigands, but the consequences of a plan absolutely settled several days before; for the grave-digger of the parish of St. Sulpice had received an assignat of an hundred crowns in advance to prepare the pit at Monrouge, where the dead bodies were carried the next day in ten tumbrels. *Danton*, *Robespierre*, *Marat*, *Tallien*, and some other Members of the Commune, were the authors of this plan; and the principal directors of the execution of it: Three or four hundred villains selected from among the Marseillois and Federates were their instruments. The people were present at none of the massacres but the last committed at the Carmes; and we have seen that they appeared there only to put an end to them: they did not go into the seminary of St. Firmin at the time the priests were butchered there in the dormitories, cells, &c.; they saw only those who were thrown alive out of the windows, and murdered with axes in the streets by the assassins on the outside. My hand refuses the

the task of entering farther into the details of all these horrors, which the more faithfully they are painted become the less credible.

The Assembly, although by a great variety of private communications they knew the horrors that were carried on, affected not to believe them, as they had received no official information of them, and spent a great part of this Sitting in passing the decree ordaining the sale of the property of Emigrants that had been or that should be sequestered. It was not till eight o'clock at night that some Municipal officers appeared at the Bar, and then barely stated that crowds were collecting round the prisons, and that the people seemed determined to force the gates of them*. The Assembly saw no remedy for it but that of charging six of their Members *to go and speak to the people, and restore tranquillity*. Accordingly, these Commissioners went, and, after an absence of two hours, returned and reported that, having with great difficulty made their way to the gates of the Abbaye, they en-

* Not a single word did they say of the massacre of the Priests already perpetrated.

deavoured to speak to the people, but finding they could not make themselves heard they retired, and that the darkness of the night prevented their seeing what was passing. On this report the Assembly, who at the time were not ignorant that the massacre of the Priests had been completed, and that that of the other prisoners had been begun for several hours, took no measure to put a stop to it*, and broke up their Sitting as usual at eleven o'clock at night, leaving in the Hall only the Commissioners whose turn it was to pass the night there.

At one o'clock in the morning these Commissioners, hearing that the massacre of the prisoners was continued, wrote to the Commune for precise information on the subject, and the Commune sent three of their Members, *Truchot*, *Guiraud*, and *Tallien*, to let them know what was passing. One of them

* They were not ignorant that that very afternoon some brigands, who were carrying about in triumph the body of *M. de Montmorin*, which they had empaled, attempted to present it at their Bar. Besides, the *Abbé Sicard*, the instructor of the deaf and dumb, who had escaped the massacre through the bold zeal of one of his friends, wrote to the Assembly to inform them of the danger he had been in, and to make his deliverer known to them.

stated

stated that most of the prisons were empty, that about 400 prisoners had perished ; that he had opened the prisons of *La Force* and *St. Pelagie*, and let out all the prisoners, and that he had likewise rescued twenty-four women, among whom were *Mademoiselle de Tourzel* and *Madame de St. Brice*, the Queen's waiting-woman ; but that finding himself in danger, he was obliged to retire to save himself. *Tallien* added that the prisoners who had been confined in the *Abbaye* on account of the 10th of August, and the forgers of assignats had been all put to death except eleven ; that all the prisoners at the *Châtelet* had likewise been sacrificed ; that the Commissioners whom the Commune had sent to that prison to appease the people had been in the greatest danger, without being able to do any thing ; that the Commissioners who had gone to the prison of *La Force* had not been more fortunate ; and that the Commune were going to send another deputation.

If this infamous Commune, who had 30,000 National Guards at their command, had not intended, had not ordered the massacre of the prisoners, would they have contented themselves with opposing the assassins

fins with deputations and harangues? It was soldiers, it was bayonets that ought to have been sent against this handful of brigands, who would have instantly vanished. It was doubtless to avert this reproach that *Tallien* alleged that *the duty at the barriers required so great a number of men, that there was not a sufficient number left to keep order**: but what duty could be more urgent than that of saving the lives of thousands of innocent victims? And with what face did this villain dare to speak of the duty of the barriers, that barbarous measure thought of by the directors of the massacres, to prevent any of the persons whom they had proscribed from escaping by flight the weapons of the assassins? *Tallien* did not here bridle his audacity, he dared to make some kind of apology for the massacres, which, that I may not be suspected of exaggeration, I shall report in his own words. "Our " Commissioners," said he, "did all they " could to prevent the *Hotel de la Force*

* There were fifty-two barriers at Paris, not one of which required a hundred men to guard it, so that the Commune had still more than 25,000 men to send against three or four hundred assassins.

“ from

“ from being pillaged, but they were not
 “ able to stop *the just vengeance of the*
 “ *people*; for it ought to be told, it has
 “ fallen on forgers of assignats: what called
 “ forth their vengeance was, *there were*
 “ *only known villains in the prison.*”

Guiraud, the worthy colleague of Tallien, observed also in praise of the people, that in exercising their vengeance they attended to justice; that at the Châtelet several prisoners had been enlarged, amidst the shouts of *Vive la nation!* that at the *Pont-neuf* the people had searched the dead bodies, and given in the money and pocket books*, and that a man detected stealing a handkerchief had been put to death. “ The people†,” added he, “ organized a tribunal in the
 “ prisons, composed of twelve persons.
 “ After examining the register, and putting
 “ divers questions to the prisoner, one of
 “ the Judges placed his hand on his head,
 “ saying, *Do you think in your conscience*
 “ *that we may release the gentleman?* The
 “ word *release* was his condemnation; and

* These effects were all stolen by the Commissioners of the Commune, who had taken charge of them.

† That is to say, the assassins.

“ if the answer was *yes*, the accused was
 “ suffered to go ; when hastening away he
 “ was executed by the pikes ready for him
 “ at the gate. If he was pronounced inno-
 “ cent, the shouts of *Vive la nation !* suc-
 “ ceeded, and the accused was set at li-
 “ berty.” This *Guiraud* likewise gave
 notice that the prisons of the *Palais* were
 absolutely empty, and that very few pri-
 soners had escaped death.

On these reports the Commissioners of
 the Assembly for the night convoked the
 Members at three o'clock in the morning,
 but there was not a sufficient number till nine
 to do business. A letter was then read from
Petion, stating that he had not been made
 acquainted with the events of the night till
 it was too late to be of any use. Nobody
 contradicted this falsehood, although it was
 generally known that the events of the night
 were but the sequel of those of the day before,
 and that the massacres which had commenced
 at three o'clock in the afternoon of the pre-
 ceding day were still continued with un-
 abated fury. Nor did the Assembly deter-
 mine upon any thing, and this Sitting was
 spent in reading letters received from the
 Commissioners who had been sent to the
 armies

armies and to the Departments, in decreeing some articles of the criminal code, in receiving patriotic gifts, and in debating on what was to be done with the Deputy *Jouneau*, against whom a decree of accusation had passed for having given one of his colleagues (*Grangeneuve*) a box on the ear. He had been sent to the Abbaye, where he found favour in the sight of the assassins, and now appeared at the Bar escorted by the brigands who had delivered him*.

During this infamous supineness the Assembly received a letter from the Commissioners of the Council of the Commune, dated at the Temple, the contents of which were as follows: "The sanctuary of *Louis XVI.* is threatened. *Resistance would be impolitic and dangerous, perhaps unjust.* Harmony between the Representatives of the people and the Commissioners of the Commune might prevent excess. We request that you will have the goodness to appoint six Members

* The Assembly decreed that the Committee-room should be his place of confinement, and that he should remain there on his parole of honour.

“ to

“ to act conjointly with us in calming
 “ the effervescence of the people.”

It is a horrid fact, that the Assembly heard without the least emotion these dreadful words, which announced not only that the lives of the King and the Royal Family were in danger, but that the Commissioners appointed to guard their Majesties were determined to make no resistance against the assassins. They did not dare to refuse their request, but they sent them some of the greatest villains among them, who were much more disposed to second than to obstruct the attempts of the regicides*. The Assembly having appointed them broke up the Sitting.

The massacres continued at the gates of the prisons, and the people whom the Commune dared to accuse of thus exercising their *just vengeance* took no part in them: they were merely spectators, and if they did interfere sometimes, it was to intercede for some of the victims. An incident as

* Five of these Deputies, *Le Croix*, *Bazire*, *Choudieu*, *Thuriot*, and *Chabot*, were afterwards Members of the Convention, and at the trial of the King voted for his death.

sublime

sublime as it was affecting touched the hearts of all: *Elizabeth Cazotte* piercing the crowd of assassins at the moment they were going to kill her father, threw her arms round the neck of the venerable old man, crying out, "You shall not touch my father till you have pierced my heart." A general shout for mercy proceeded from the people, and *Cazotte* was saved. The spectators, the very assassins, forgetting their trade, surrounded the father and daughter, and loaded them with caresses. "Tell us your enemies," said they eagerly, "that we may do you justice." The good old man replied, "How should I know them, as I have never injured any man*?"

A similar incident of filial piety occurred a few minutes after and with similar success, for to the courageous affection of his daughter *Monseigneur de Sombreuil* owed his life.

* About nine days after he was again arrested, on account of his correspondence with *M. de la Porte*, published in the collection of papers relative to the King's trial. His daughter followed him to prison in spite of the soldiers who went to arrest him. He was condemned to die, and on the day of his execution she was taken from him and confined in another prison, lest she should again succeed in saving him.

The

The Princess *de Tarente*, now Duchess of *la Tremouille*, saved herself by an effort of heroism. Being brought before the tribunal of the murderers, after waiting for her turn without closing her eyes for forty hours, amidst the shrieks of the victims under execution, and the agonies of those remaining to be massacred, she recovered all her energy when she found that the questions which were put to her tended to obtain answers criminating the Queen. She was told she should die if she did not confess the pretended plots of which her Majesty was accused; but neither her courage nor fidelity was to be shaken by threats. She so completely refuted all their calumnies on which she was examined, that the opinion of all the hearers, decidedly given, compelled her Judges to declare her innocent. She had, however, scarcely reached the gates of the Abbaye when the agents of the tribunal went and demanded her in order to carry her back to prison till ampler information should be obtained. She refused to return with them, and demanded immediate death or liberty. The people, transported with admiration, proclaimed her innocence and led her home in triumph. Some of the

2

assassins

assassins mixed with those who escorted her, and then returned to their post.

While these striking instances of courage and virtue moderated, at least for some moments, the fury of the assassins employed at the Abbaye, and seemed to awaken some feelings of humanity in their savage souls, streams of blood continued to flow at the gates of the other prisons of the Capital, where the barbarity of the murderers was carried to the greatest excess. We have already seen that the Commissioners of the Commune had sent four-and-twenty women out of the prison of *La Force*: this was telling the assassins what they were to do, and condemning those who were not set at liberty to certain death. Of that number was the unfortunate Princess *de Lamballe*, whose situation was the more hopeless, as the tribunal that decided the fate of the prisoners at the *Hotel de la Force* was not composed, as at the Abbaye, of Judges taken from among the fatigued executioners already satiated with blood, but from among villains a thousand times more wicked, who were the cause of its being shed, and of whom the assassins were but the instruments. Here, it was by two Municipal officers dressed

sed in their scarfs that the prisoners were examined and judged. Those who were on the service when the Princess *de Lamballe* was called, were two of the most violent demagogues of the Jacobin Club, *Hebert* and *L'Huillier*. When she was brought before this frightful tribunal, seeing herself surrounded by men whose faces, hands, clothes, and weapons were covered with blood, and hearing the shrieks of the wretches whom the executioners were murdering in the streets, she fell into a swoon. As she began to recover her senses by the exertions of one of her waiting-women who had accompanied her, she was again thrown into the same state by the new cries that caught her ear. When at length she was able to speak, her Judges asked her if she knew any thing of the plots of the Court on the 10th of August. She replied, "I am ignorant whether there were any plots on the 10th of August, but I know that I was not acquainted with any." She was then told to swear liberty and equality, and hatred to the King, the Queen, and Royalty. "I will readily swear the two first," said she, "but I cannot swear the last; it is not in my heart." A person standing by whifpered,

pered, *Swear ; if you do not swear you are dead.* She made no reply, but raised her hands, and covering her face with them made a step towards the gate. The villain who questioned her then pronounced the form of death : *Let the lady be released**. Two men seized her by the arms and dragged her out. She had no sooner passed the threshold of the gate than she received a cut with a sword on the back of her head. The monsters who had hold of her were forcing her to wade through blood and tread over dead bodies to go to the place marked for her own, but she could not support herself and she swooned away, on which she was stabbed with pikes. She was immediately stripped of all her clothes, and her naked body remained exposed for more than two hours to the brutal inspection of the populace, and to all the horrible insults which the most savage barbarity, united with the filthiest impurity, could devise. About noon the barbarians determined to cut off her head and tear out her heart. They loaded a cannon with one of her legs ; the rest of the body was given up to a band of can-

* *Qu'on elargisse Madame.*

nibals,

nibals, who dragged it about the streets. They who had the head and the heart carried them about on pikes, and first to the Abbey St. Antoine, where the Princess *de Lamballe* had resided some time. They presented them to the view of Madame *de Beauveau*, who had been the Abbess of this Abbey, and an intimate friend of Madame *de Lamballe's*. These assassins then joining those who were dragging the mutilated body of the Princess, went together to the Temple. At their approach, the Commissioners of the Commune on duty at the Temple, consulted with those of the Assembly who had just arrived, and determined not to employ force to repel people: they had caused the arms of the guards to be examined, to see that they were not loaded, and ordered them to sheath their bayonets.

It was now half past one o'clock, and the Royal Family were at dinner. On hearing the drums and the cries of the people, they arose from table, and went into the Queen's chamber. The faithful *Clery* went down stairs to dine with a man named *Tison* and his wife, who were employed as spies at the Temple. They had scarcely taken their seats, when the bloody head of the Princess *de Lamballe*

Lamballe was held to the window. *Tison's* wife gave a violent scream, which the murderers supposed to proceed from the Queen, and they expressed their enjoyment of the thought in horrid bursts of laughter. The Commissioners at this time caused a tri-coloured ribbon to be hung across the gate of the Temple, with this inscription upon it: *Citizens, you who with a just vengeance can unite the love of order, respect this barrier; it is necessary to our superintendance, and to our responsibility.* They then entered into a parley with the leaders of the assassins, who proposed that they should be admitted into the Temple with the head of *Madame de Lamballe*, on promising to use no violence against the prisoners, but merely to show them the head, that they might see what had been the consequence of their plots. On some difficulties stated to them by the Commissioners, they lowered their demand to being suffered to go only into the Court of the Temple, and the King and Queen being placed at the window to see the head. At this stage of the negotiation two Municipal Officers went into the apartment where the Royal Family were, and on the King's asking if his Family were in

safety, they said, " It has been reported
" that you and your Family are gone from
" the Tower, and the people are calling for
" you to appear at the window; but we
" shall not suffer it, for they ought to show
" more confidence in their magistrates."

In the mean time the shouts and tumults increased, and insults addressed to the Queen were distinctly heard, when another Municipal Officer came in, followed by four men-deputed by the populace to ascertain whether the Royal Family was or was not in the Tower. One of them, accoutred in the uniform of the National Guard, insisted that the prisoners should show themselves at the windows, but the Municipal Officers would not allow it; on which the fellow said to the Queen in the most brutal manner,
" They want to keep you from seeing *De*
" *Lamballe's* head, which has been brought
" to you, that you may know how the
" people avenge themselves upon their ty-
" rants: I advise you to show yourself, if
" you would not have them come up here."
At these words the Queen fainted away. Madame *Elizabeth* assisted *Clery* in placing her on a chair, while her children, melting into tears, endeavoured by their caresses to
bring

bring her to herself. As the wretch stood looking on, the King said to him in a firm voice, "We are prepared for every thing, Sir, but you might have dispensed with relating this horrible disaster to the Queen." He made no reply, but went away with his companions.

The Queen coming to herself, removed with her family to Madame *Elizabeth's* chamber, where the noise of the populace was less heard. The assassins were still demanding that the door should be opened, and threatening to force it. *Clery* standing at a blind of one of the windows of the Queen's apartment, heard *Daunou*, the Municipal Officer, haranguing the brigands. "The head of *Antoinette*," said he, "does not belong to you; the Departments have their respective rights to it; France has confided these great criminals to the care of the city of Paris, and it is your part to assist in securing them until the National justice takes vengeance for the people." *Clery* also saw the monster who carried the Princess *de Lamballe's* head on a pike, standing on the rubbish of some houses which were pulled down for the purpose of insulating the Tower; and near

him another wretch, with the heart of that unfortunate Princess on the point of a sabre*.

At length the immense mob that besieged the Temple left it to follow the head of the Princess *de Lamballe* to the *Palais-Royal*. The pike that bore it was fixed before the Duke of *Orleans*' window just as he was going to dinner. It is said that he looked at this horrid sight without horror, went into the dining room, sat down to table, and helped his company without saying a word. His silence and coolness left it doubtful whether the assassins, in presenting him this bloody trophy, intended to offer him an insult, or to pay him homage. Some writers, judging from the known protection granted by the Duke of *Orleans* to the person named *Rotundo*, who boasted to have taken a part in the massacre of *Madame de Lamballe*, have asserted that the Duke had ordered her assassination, in revenge for her having shut

* The passages in the three preceding pages relative to the barbarity at the Temple, are taken from the interesting Journal published in the year 1798 in London by *Clery*. See his Journal, page 28, French Edit. p. 32. Eng. ed.

her

her doors against him after the outrages of the 5th of October 1789, and that the settlement of 100,000 crowns, which she received out of the fortune of the Duchess of *Orleans*, might revert to him; but these conjectures are too uncertain to be admitted by History, which will have no occasion to suppose crimes for the Duke of *Orleans*; those that have really sullied his life are sufficiently numerous and sufficiently execrable to attach eternal ignominy to his name. It is probable, that if he had chosen to employ his popularity, his credit, and all the means he then possessed, in favour of the Princess *de Lamballe*, he might have saved her, and he was much in the wrong for not trying; but that, bad as it is, is far removed from the execrable crime of having ordered her assassination.

The brigands who had detached themselves from the prisons of *La Force* to give the Parisians the horrid sight which I have just been describing, had left a sufficient number of assassins there to prevent the massacre of the prisoners from being suspended; nor did it stop a moment while a victim remained to be sacrificed. The hospital of *Bicêtre* was the place where the

carnage continued the longest, and was the most bloody. There the assassins, finding the use of swords, pikes, and guns too slow and fatiguing, employed cannon. They collected a certain number of prisoners in a court, and fired upon them with cannister shot. The number of unfortunate persons who perished there has not been ascertained; the most moderate computation states it to be above five thousand*. I here conclude this very short description of the bloody scenes which polluted the Capital from Sun-

* To this number is to be added that of the persons massacred in the other prisons and houses of confinement in Paris; viz.

244 At the monastery of the Carmes, and seminary of St. Firmin.

180 At the Abbaye, St. Germain.

73 At the cloister of the Bernardins.

45 At the Hospital of the Salpetriere.

85 At the Conciergerie.

214 At the Châtelet.

164 At the Hotel de la Force.

1005 Total, without, however, reckoning those who perished in the Courts of the Salpetriere, those who were drowned at La Force, and all who were dragged from the dungeons of La Conciergerie and of the Châtelet, to be massacred on the Pont-au-charge.

day

day, the 2d of September, to the Friday following, and I return to the Assembly, whom I left quietly breaking up at four o'clock in the afternoon, to go to dinner, without having taken any measures whatever to put an end to the massacres.

The Assembly resumed their sitting at four o'clock in the afternoon, and attended at first only to the reading of addresses, the receiving of patriotic gifts, and hearing deputations of National Volunteers, who came to ask for arms to go to the frontiers. They were roused from this state of apathy by the Minister, who came to inform them of the taking of Verdun. He observed, that it was not upon their armies, but upon intestine disorders that the enemies had depended for subduing France; that ideas were spread of the most alarming kind, and the most calculated to realize their hopes; that private animosities were kindled; that those who had signed certain petitions were proscribed; that at the frontiers the Parisians were accused of wishing to have the Duke of York as King; and that at Paris the Legislative Body were accused of wishing to re-establish *Louis XVI.* upon the Throne. He invited the Assembly to remain sitting

the whole night, to write an address to the people in order to undeceive them, to obtain an account of the situation of Paris, and to call out all the National Guard.

The Assembly were the more alarmed at the news of the taking of Verdun, as, a few days before, their fears on the taking of Longwy had been quieted only by the violent indignation displayed by the inhabitants of Verdun on that occasion, and by their repeated oaths of burying themselves all under the ruins of their ramparts, rather than capitulate. Far from imagining that a patriotism so ardent could vanish in a siege of three days, and after a bombardment of only twelve hours, they expected from it prodigies of valour, and of course a resistance sufficiently prolonged to give *Dumourier* time to come up and raise the siege. The Commandant of the place (*Beaurepaire*), the only man true to his oath, shot himself in despair; but Champagne was open to the armies of the enemy, who were only sixty leagues from Paris; and the plaudits and overstrained praises lavished by the Assembly on the pretended heroism of this useless suicide, but ill concealed the panic with which they were struck; and no one was deceived by

by the affected indignation they displayed in calling to order one of their Members, 'who had been so indiscreet as to invite the Assembly not to suffer themselves to be dejected; The terror of the people showed itself with a violence truly alarming. The messenger who brought the news of the taking of Verdun narrowly escaped being massacred; he was carried before the Committee of Inspection, who, after having examined him, ordered him into custody, and hastened to inform the Assembly that he had contradicted himself on several points. He was produced the next day at the Bar, where he gave an account totally different to the news he had brought. He asserted that *Dumourier*, finding that the enemy intended to cut off his communication with the garrison of Verdun, had practised the ablest manœuvre; that he had transported his artillery over the whole chain of the Mont-dieu, in order to come out upon the plains of Argonne; that his object was to get to Varennes, where he was to join *Kellerman*, so that he did not doubt that the enemy would be repulsed with the greatest advantage. "We have no news," added he, "of Verdun; and as
1 " for

“ for me, I would bet a hundred to one that
“ that town is not taken.”

The only object of this gross artifice was to tranquillize the people, and gain time to prepare them for the taking of Verdun, the news of which, officially sent, neither could be nor was doubted; accordingly they did not hesitate to adopt the measures proposed to them by the Minister at War. They ordered by the same decree, that the Executive Power should give an account, in the course of the day, of the measures taken to hasten the departure of the troops who were to repair to the different camps in the way to Paris, and to fortify the heights which covered that town*. This decree made no mention of the massacre of the prisoners, and merely declared that the Municipality, the Council-General of the Commune, the Presidents of the Sections, the Commandant General of the National Guard, and the

* This famous camp of Paris, ridiculous monument of the terror that swayed the Parisians and the Assembly, was attended with an immense expence, was daily the object of some new decree, and would not have delayed the entry of an hostile army into the Capital a single hour.

Commanders

Commanders of each Battalion, should, in the course of the day, repair to the Bar, to take individually the oath of maintaining, by every means in their power, liberty, equality, and the safety of persons and property. It was likewise ordered that the Presidents of the Sections should cause all the citizens within their bounds to take the same oath * : but could the Assembly, who had so often violated all their oaths, flatter themselves that those which they ordered would be more respected? Could they expect any effect from proclamations perpetually in opposition to their own conduct? The Ministers, to whom they had given their whole confidence and an unlimited power, almost all trembled before the Commune, who denounced them, summoned them, and accused those who seconded their crimes but feebly, of treason, perfidy, or incapacity. *Danton*, the only one as wicked as themselves, had usurped, and by means of villany preserved the plenitude of the

* This oath was taken in all the Assemblies of the Sections; but the Federates, Marseillois, and *citizen-assassins* were not present, but continued slaughtering prisoners while any remained.

Revolutionary Executive Power. *Roland*, more violently attacked than the rest of his colleagues by the Commune, whose authority he had dared to deny, and whose usurpations he had denounced*, filled the public papers daily with complaints, and with defences of himself. Some passages of the letter which he wrote to the Assembly on that occasion (September 3d) will give a just idea of the character of that Revolutionary Minister, whose virtues the factious have so greatly celebrated.

“ On the 10th of August,” said he, “ it is evident that we were lost. The Court, who had been long prepared, were waiting the hour to consummate all their treasons, to display the standard of death over Paris, and to reign there by terror. The sentiment of the people, always just and prompt when their opinion is not corrupted, foresaw the period appointed for their destruction, and rendered it fatal to the conspirators. It is in the nature of

* They issued a writ of arrest against him on the 2d. of September, and 200 brigands went in a riotous manner to his house; fortunately for him he was not at home, and they contented themselves with arresting one of his Secretaries.

“ things

“ things and of the human heart that vic-
“ tory should be attended with some ex-
“ cesses. The sea agitated by a violent
“ storm roars long after the tempest ceases ;
“ but every thing has its bounds. If dis-
“ organization becomes a habit, if men
“ zealous, but without knowledge or means,
“ pretend to interfere daily in the adminif-
“ tration and impede its progress ; if, on
“ the support of some popular favour, ob-
“ tained by great ardour, and maintained
“ by greater talk, they spread distrust, pub-
“ lish denunciations, excite fury, and dic-
“ tate proscriptions, the Government is no
“ more than a shadow, it is nothing, and
“ *the good man* placed at the helm of af-
“ fairs ought to withdraw the moment he
“ finds that he cannot manage it. *The*
“ *Provisional Commune has rendered great*
“ *services*, they stand in no need of my
“ testimony in that respect, but I say it
“ through an effusion of heart. The Pro-
“ visional Commune now err by continuing
“ to exercise a Revolutionary Power, which
“ should never be but momentary that it
“ may not be destructive, and they are pre-
“ paring great calamities for you if they
“ longer delay confining themselves within
“ their

“ their just limits. Yesterday was a day,
 “ over the events of which a veil must per-
 “ haps be left. I know that the people,
 “ though terrible in their vengeance, still
 “ maintain in it a sort of justice; they do
 “ not make victims of all who present
 “ themselves to their fury, which they di-
 “ rect against those whom they suppose to
 “ have been too long spared by the sword of
 “ justice, and whom the state of things per-
 “ suades them ought to be sacrificed with-
 “ out delay; but I know it is easy for wicked
 “ men, for traitors to abuse that efferves-
 “ cence. The secret enemies of the people
 “ may make use of their agitation to injure
 “ their best friends, their most powerful
 “ defenders: *the example is already set;*
 “ *let them shudder and stop*!* Just anger,
 “ just indignation pushed to its height,
 “ gives rise to proscriptions which at first
 “ fall only on the guilty, but in which error
 “ or private passion soon involves *the just*
 “ *man.*”

In his address to the Parisians, published at the same time, he says, “ I admired the

* These words allude to the writ of arrest which the Commune had issued against him the day before.

“ 10th of August, I shuddered at the conse-
“ quences of the 2d of September. I
“ readily conceived what the long and de-
“ ceived patience of the people, *what their*
“ *justice* must produce. I have not incon-
“ siderately blamed a first but terrible im-
“ pulse, yet I thought its continuance
“ should be avoided, and that they who
“ strove to prolong it were deceived by their
“ imagination, or by cruel and ill-disposed
“ men.”

This self-qualified *good man* admired the 10th of August, and endeavoured to justify them by imputing to the Court horrible plots which he well knew had never existed. This self-qualified *just man*, this *virtuous philosopher*, this *philanthropist*, found nothing to blame in the massacres of the 2d of September but their continuance, and dared to assert that the first proscriptions had fallen only upon criminals*: but to complete the disgust created by this being, who was as stupid as he was impudent, we must read in the same pamphlet that contains

* We have seen that the first victims of the massacre of the 2d of September were the Bishops and the Priests that were confined in the Convent of the Carmes and in the prisons of the Abbaye.

these atrocious impostures and scandalous vauntings, the picture he draws of himself in the following terms :

“ Born with some strength of character,
“ I am indebted to the good examples set
“ before my youth in the course of a well-
“ judged education, for directing it entirely
“ upon the most rigid principles of mo-
“ rality. The general interest and the ne-
“ cessity of continually sacrificing passions,
“ desires, and whatever is personal, to that
“ sacred interest, were then laid before me,
“ and are ever present to my view. I de-
“ spise fortune, because I have learned to
“ be happy without it. I am awake to
“ glory, but I have never put it in competi-
“ tion with virtue. The testimony of con-
“ science is necessary to me ; with that I can
“ forego every thing, and I can substitute
“ nothing in its place. I love liberty and
“ equality with the enthusiasm of a sus-
“ ceptible being who considers them as the
“ source of happiness upon earth, with the
“ constancy and tenaciousness of a thinking
“ man who has estimated the advantages of
“ them : I have professed the principles of
“ them from the earliest period of my life ;
“ I did it with firmness and energy under
“ the

“ the reign of despotism ; I sacrificed my
 “ advancement in life to them*. Let my
 “ life be scanned and my works be read : I
 “ defy malice to find in the former one sin-
 “ gle action, or discover in the latter a sen-
 “ timent of which I might not be proud.
 “ I saw the Revolution with transport ; it
 “ coincided with the wishes I had long
 “ formed for the unhappy class of mankind ;
 “ it destroyed abuses of which I have so
 “ often complained ; I have supported it,
 “ for my part, with my courage and con-
 “ stant efforts, and it has led me to the
 “ Ministry. All France can vouch for the
 “ integrity of my administration, the vigour
 “ of my principles, and the uniformity of
 “ my conduct. I do not love power, nor
 “ have I fought it. Sixty years of a la-
 “ borious life, and I am bold to say, the
 “ habit of those virtues that dignify retire-
 “ ment make me prefer it to an agitated ex-
 “ istence†.”

* It is difficult to give credit to this sacrifice when it is known that from the very petty office of inspector of manufactures, with a hundred Louis a year, *Roland* was advanced to the Ministry.

† *Roland's* letter to the Assembly and address to the Parisians are to be found in the *Moniteur* of the 5th and of the 13th of September.

The juster pen of history in describing the character of *Roland* will represent him only as a wretched empiric, as dull as he was arrogant, a kind of Revolutionary automaton, who never spoke or wrote but as his wife dictated, nor ever acted but as she directed.

The journalists hired by the Commune undertook not only to justify the continuance of the massacres which *Roland* had thought proper to censure, but likewise to prove them indispensably necessary. For this purpose, they had recourse to the grossest impostures : they asserted, “ that the police had had intelligence by private notices, by public avowals, and by signed denunciations, that in the course of the night the prisons were to have been opened to allow the conspirators to escape, that the other persons in confinement, of whom there was a considerable number, were to have received arms, spread themselves through the town, forced the guard houses, disarmed the citizens, and after joining some other brigands to have made their way into houses to pillage and burn them ; that on the 2d of September these alarms being increased, the people were exasperated

“ perated to the highest decree, and took
“ the sudden resolution of preventing new
“ plots by putting all the villains to death ;
“ that the Municipality had endeavoured in
“ vain to stop them, and had been com-
“ pelled to confine themselves to measures
“ of caution, that the innocent at least
“ might not be confounded with the
“ guilty*.”

Every word of this account was a falsehood. Those signed denunciations, those private notices, those public avowals spoken of, were never referred to, or known to any body ; the efforts of the Municipality to stop the massacres, and their measures to prevent the innocent from being confounded with the guilty, were equally unknown† ; but many eye-witnesses have attested that the people were merely spectators of the massacre of the prisoners, and it is well known that the Commune who had ordered it intended

* See the Moniteur of the 6th of September.

† On the 4th of September, after the massacre of the prisoners in the Abbaye, and while the assassins were putting to death in the other prisons of Paris all the persons whom the Commune had confined there, one of the Members expressed himself at the bar of the Assembly

tended that it should be general, not only in Paris, but throughout the kingdom. Were there any doubts remaining on that head they would be completely removed by the horrible circular letter which the Committee of Inspection of the Commune of Paris wrote, on the 3d of September, to all the Departments in the kingdom, counter-signed by the Minister *Danton*. I shall insert only the beginning of it.

“ The Commune of Paris hasten to inform their brothers of all the Departments, that a number of the ferocious conspirators confined in the prisons have been put to death by the people ; an act of justice which appeared to them indispensable to restrain by terror those legions of traitors lurking within their walls at the moment that the citizens were going to march against the enemy ; and, no doubt, the whole nation, after the long series of treasons which have led them

bly in these words : “ Legislators, the prisons are empty ; innocence has escaped the sword of the people’s vengeance. There were innocent citizens under arrest, their lives were in danger, and they applied to us ; we flew to their assistance, we turned the bayonets aside, and a tri-coloured ribbon was sufficient to stop an armed nation.”

“ to

“ to the brink of the abyfs, will be eager
 “ to adopt thefe means fo neceffary for the
 “ public fafety; and all the French will cry,
 “ like the Parisians, let us march againft
 “ the enemy, but do not let us leave behind
 “ us thefe brigands to cut the throats of our
 “ wives and children. Brothers and friends,
 “ we expect that a part of you will fly to
 “ our affiftance, and join in repelling the
 “ innumerable legions of the fatellites of the
 “ defpots who have confpired againft France.
 “ We will together fave the country, and
 “ fnatched to you we fhall owe the glory of
 “ having it from the abyfs.”

(Signed) “ *The Administrators of the*
 “ *public fafety, and Affif-*
 “ *tant - Administrators*
 “ *united, Pierre Du-*
 “ *plain, Panis, Sergent,*
 “ *Lenfant, Jourdeuil,*
 “ *Marat*—The friend of
 “ the people, *De Forgas,*
 “ *Le Clere, Dufortré,*
 “ *Celly,* appointed by the
 “ Commune, and fitting
 “ at the houfe of the
 “ Mayor.”

“ N. B. Our brothers are requested to
“ have this letter printed and sent to all the
“ Municipalities within their jurisdiction.”

This barbarous letter, which devotes the infamous Commune of Paris to eternal execration, was a death-warrant for the prisoners in all the Municipalities where the Jacobins prevailed*.

The massacre of the prisoners of the National Supreme Court was reserved for the brigands of Paris. The plan of it had been concerted between *Danton* and that atrocious Committee of the Commune, whose Members had taken the title of *Administrators of the Public Safety*. In the latter end of the month of August, a detachment of Marseillois, composed of two hundred men, repaired to Lonjumeau, whence they wrote to the Assembly that they were going to Orleans to conduct the prisoners of the National Supreme Court to Paris. The Assembly at first forbade this detachment to proceed any farther, and decreed that the prisoners

* At Reims, Meaux, and Lyons, all the prisoners, without exception, were massacred. The immense number of victims that perished at this fatal period will never be exactly ascertained.

at Orleans should be removed to Blois. A deputation sent by the Marseillois appeared at the Bar to justify them, and declared that their design was only to go and guard those prisoners *who, it was known, were to be rescued.* The Assembly taking into consideration these pretended alarms, which nothing justified, decreed on the report of the Extraordinary Commission of the Twelve, that the Executive Power should immediately send a Parisian force of 1200 men to Orleans to prevent the rescue of the prisoners of the Supreme Court. Had the object of the Assembly been merely the security of those prisoners, they would have contented themselves with recommending them to the vigilance of the National Guard of Orleans, who were sufficiently numerous to guard them; but *Danton* and the Commune were resolved that they should die; and whether it was that the Assembly were ignorant of this horrible design, which for several days had been generally suspected, or that they were still governed by that cowardice which made them adopt all the measures proposed or suggested by the Commune, they did not dare to reject the proposal of sending a body of 1200 men from the Pa-

rifian National guard to Orleans. This detachment, composed of the vilest men of all the battalions, was put under the command of a person named *Fournier*, one of the greatest villains of the Revolution. They were joined at Lonjumeau by the 200 Marseillois who had halted there, and arrived at Orleans on the 30th of August. The Supreme Court had just condemned to death an old officer named *Dulery*, accused of enlisting men for the Princes. The first thing the Parisian troops did was, to detach the 200 Marseillois to bring the unfortunate *Dulery* from the prison to the place of execution. After the execution they returned to the prison, the gates of which they forced with swords and pistols in their hands; and when the jailor refused to open the last door within, they seized him, and would have cut off his head had he not given up his keys. They then rushed into all the passages and chambers, bellowing the most horrid imprecations, chiefly against the Duke *de Brissac* and *M. de Lessart*, whom they loudly called for. Their object as yet was only to insult them, and more particularly to lay hands as soon as possible on all their effects, that they might not give the
the

the Parisian brigands time to come and take a part in the pillage ; for at the bottom the violent patriotifm of thofe villains always turned out to be a love of booty. They robbed the Duke *de Briffac* of 40,000 livres in assignats, and his plate ; and feized all his papers, which they put into the hands of the Civil Commiffioner (*Bourdon de la Crofniere*) whom the Commune had attached to this expedition. The other prifoners were alfo robbed, abufed, and locked up in their rooms, where feveral of them were forgotten for fix-and-thirty hours, during which time they remained without any kind of food.

On the 3d of September, at fix o'clock in the evening, they were informed, that by a decree of the Affembly, paffed the day before, they were to be removed to Saumur, and that they muft prepare to fet out the next morning. The correspondents and friends whom they had at Orleans immediately furnifhed them with money and fuch effects as they wanted. This affiftance prefented a new prey to the rapacity of the Parisian patriots ; they omitted nothing to make fure of it, and the manner in which they proceeded was this : that very evening
some

some seditious people mixed with the guard of the prisons, and endeavoured to persuade them, that as decrees of impeachment for treason against the nation had been passed against all the prisoners, they ought not to be treated more favourably than those in the prisons of Paris, and that it was of no use to carry villains of that kind any farther. The guard, at that time composed of some honest bourgeois of Orleans, having resisted these insinuations, the wretches withdrew, and went to the Jacobin Club for aid. A large party was soon formed, who sent a deputation to the guard to give them notice that a corps, in which there were many of the National guards of Orleans, were coming to compel the gates of the prisons to be opened. This corps did actually appear, and the guard of the prisons being determined to defend their posts, levelled their cannon, and loaded their arms. The two parties were close to each other, the town was lighted, and a battle was on the point of commencing, when General *Fournier* came up, and proposed as a means of reconciliation, to carry the prisoners, not to Saumur as the decree directed, but to Paris. The Orleans National guard, who were answerable

answerable for them only while they remained at Orleans, did not think proper to oppose a measure which might save the prisoners, and which besides would exonerate them of all responsibility: thus the proposal made by *Fournier* was agreed to by all parties.

Next day, Sept. 4th, at six o'clock in the morning, seven open waggons, with straw at the bottom, were drawn up to the gate of the prison, and eight prisoners were placed in each. Their effects, meant to be pillaged, were left in the prison to be put into a carriage that was to go for them, but which never went. The convoy set out, escorted by the corps under *Fournier*, who had decorated the breast plate of his horse with all the *croix de St. Louis* taken from the officers among the prisoners. What a dreadful journey, or rather what a protracted execution had these victims to undergo! Grossly insulted by all the brigands they met on the way, exposed all the day to the beams of a scorching sun, breathing only air charged with dust, heaped together in tumbrels, in which they were slowly dragged towards death; and which they only quitted in the evening to be laid in the stable of some inn, where

where they were shut up promiscuously for the night, and taken out next morning covered with vermin.

The Assembly being informed, by the great Solicitors of the National Supreme Court, that the prisoners of Orleans were on the road to Paris, decreed that the Executive Power should take the necessary measures for their security; that they should cause them to be carried for the present to whatever place they might judge most convenient out of the Department of Paris; and that they should send Commissioners to meet the convoy, and inform the troops which escorted it, that they had essentially transgressed the law, to which they ought to submit.

The Commissioners met the convoy at Etampes on the 6th of September, where they made the prisoners acquainted with the object of their mission, and with their firm resolution to fulfil it, so as to quiet all their fears. In a few hours after they went and told them that it had been determined that the convoy should remain at Etampes till the Assembly had come to a new determination on the fate of the prisoners; but the Marseillois, enraged at being kept inactive
1 while

while their comrades were still shedding the blood of the prisoners of the Capital in torrents, broke out into the most violent murmurs. One of them, stammering and foaming with drunkenness, went up to the Commissioners, and said that it was possible there might be some innocent persons among the prisoners of the Supreme Court, but that he was assured that there were also great criminals, and that the people alone had a right to try them. As the Commissioners did not dare to arrest this man, or impose silence upon him, the cry of *to Paris, to Paris* was heard, and soon became general. The Commissioner having withdrawn, *Fournier* consulted his soldiers, in order to reconcile the wish they manifested with the respect they still affected to preserve for the Constituted Authorities, and proposed to remain two days longer at Etampes, on the express conditions of setting out for Versailles on the 8th in the morning, which was agreed to. The Commissioners secretly informed the prisoners that they would take advantage of this delay to cause an armed force to be chosen in the Sections of Paris, and sent to Etampes, to protect them, and enforce obedience to the law.

As

As this chosen troop did not arrive, the convoy left Etampes on the morning of the 8th of September, and halted in the evening at Arpajon, where the prisoners passed the night in a stable belonging to the seat of *Marschal Mouchy*; and *Fournier* received from them 1500 livres, which he had the effrontery to exact to defray the expences of their journey, although the Municipality of Orleans had given him 15,000 livres for the charges of the convoy as far as Saumur.

On Sunday the 9th of September the prisoners were conducted to Versailles. In going out of the little town of Jouy, they found an immense crowd gathered to see them pass, and which followed and loaded them with abuse. Some told them that they were going to be shut up at the menagerie in the iron cages made for wild beasts; others, that ten thousand Parisians were waiting for them to cut their throats. These threats, these outrages, and the savage joy manifested by a part of their escort, no longer suffered them to doubt that their last hour was come. Considering death at that time as the termination of insupportable agony, they were all resigned to it, and several of them wished it.

When the convoy arrived at the iron-gate at the entrance of Versailles, seven Municipal Officers went up to protect the carriages, and to accompany them to the menagerie. The party who were to have guarded them were about thirty paces off, leaving but a line of five men on each side of them. This day *Fournier* had scarcely ever appeared at the head of his corps. As soon as the carriages arrived in the great square, they were stopped by ten or twelve men, who seized the bridles of the horses, crying out, *off with their heads*; they, however, yielded to the representations of the Municipal Officers, and the march was continued to the iron-gate of the *Orangerie*, which was opened to allow the four cannon that preceded the escort to pass. As soon as they were within, the gate was shut, and the convoy again stopped by the same number of assailants, and with the same cries. Again these savages were harangued; for the officers and soldiers of the escort kept their swords constantly sheathed, and were deaf to all that the Municipal Officers required of them. *Fournier* for some time seemed as if determined on the opening of the gate, which it was necessary to pass in order

order to go to the menagerie, where the prisoners were to be lodged; it was indeed opened and shut twice or thrice following, but no carriage was suffered to enter. *Fournier* affecting to take into serious consideration the respect that was due to the will of the sovereign people determined to leave his cannon, and to send the convoy by another road; but the carriages had scarcely moved on two hundred paces, before they were stopped. Fifteen assassins surrounded and assailed the first in the cross street *des quatre bornes*; it was then three o'clock in the afternoon, and *Fournier* had disappeared. The Mayor of Versailles was standing near this carriage, and endeavoured, but in vain, to appease the fury of those villains: he threw himself before them, harangued them, got upon the carriage to keep back the prisoners they attempted to seize, and even shielded with his body the two first that were murdered. His zeal, courage, and honourable efforts exposed him more than once to the fate of the victims, without saving any. Of fifty-three prisoners, forty-seven were massacred, while the whole guard under arms remained near an hour and a half motionless spectators of this scene of horror,

horror, executed by fifteen villains, for the people took no part in it!

The bodies of these victims received similar indignities to those exercised on the prisoners massacred at Paris. Their limbs were cut off and stuck on the iron rails of the Palace; those of the Duke *de Brissac* were carried on pikes, and placed under the windows of the pavilion of *Lucienne*, where his friend *Madame du Barry* had retired*! The principal persons brought from Orleans with the Duke *de Brissac*, were the Ministers *De Lessart* and *D'Abancourt*, *M. de Castellane* Bishop of *Mende*, who was more than sixty years old, *M. de Malvoisin*, Lieutenant-Colonel of *Monseigneur's* regiment of Dragoons, the officers of the

* Among the six prisoners who escaped the massacre, several were spared because they were servants, and the others owed their lives to the murderers being tired. One escaped from his wounds not proving mortal; this was *M. de Loyauté*, an officer of the artillery, from whom I heard the circumstances which I have related. A person, named *François Bertrand*, being found in the list of the prisoners of Orleans, it was generally thought to be me. Several Journalists confirmed this mistake, and *Hebert*, in his narrative of the massacres of Versailles, gave a minute account of all the circumstances of my death.

regiment of Cambresis, and *La Riviere* the Justice. The assassins concluded the day with massacring the prisoners that were in the prisons of Versailles, among whom were seven priests taken up to be transported.

There was not a single day in this too memorable week that was not stained with more murders than had been committed in France for a century! The greatest villains of the kingdom had now become the chief actors in the Revolution, and the remainder of the history of it is but a horrible series of crimes.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Character of Robespierre; his Object, Plan, and Means—The taking of Longwy and Verdun—The Siege of Thionville undertaken without Artillery—Commissioners sent by the Commune of Paris to all Parts of the Kingdom—Deputies to the Convention elected from among the greatest Villains—Principal Events of the Campaign of 1792—The Duke of Brunswick's Plan adopted, but not followed—Dumourier's Conduct—A Negotiation opened with him—An Armistice—Stipulation for the Exchange of Prisoners—

E c 2

soners—The Emigrants not included in it—Retreat of the combined Armies inevitable—Absurd Conjectures respecting the Reasons of it—Unjust Censure cast on the French Princes and Emigrants—Causes of the Disasters of the Campaign examined.

THE election of Members for the National Convention began at Paris on the same day with the massacre of the prisoners, and marked as much as possible the bloody auspices under which it took place. *Robespierre* was the first named. The part, as astonishing as execrable, which he played in the Revolution from the 10th of August till his death, presents an enigma the more difficult to be resolved, as the history of no country, of no Revolution, ever offered the like. It is still asked, how did it happen that a man without a name, without talents, without courage, without fortune, and of a hideous figure, managed, in the space of six months, completely to annihilate the most ancient monarchy of Europe, to bring to the scaffold a good and virtuous Prince, who had always deserved to be the idol of his subjects;

subjects; to erect on the ruins of all the laws, all the Constitutions, all the Authorities, the most sanguinary, the most enormous power that had ever existed on earth, to centre it entirely in his own hands, and to consolidate it by means of the new crimes with which he abused it? Such were, in fact, the horrible miracles of *Robespierre*; but it is more particularly important to unveil his object, his plan, and his means, that his accomplices, and men like him, whom his success still emboldens, may never attempt to renew in France the dreadful calamities with which it has been so long desolated.

Robespierre, condemned by his mediocrity to be nothing more than a petty Provincial Advocate under the old system, hated it only because he saw in it no opening favourable to his inordinate ambition, of which neither glory nor wealth was the object. His turbulent, seditious, and innately despotic character, rendered him jealous of all the Powers, less with a view of destroying them, than of making a change, and of seizing them for himself: this was his democracy. His extreme vanity made him believe that he was destined to play a

very conspicuous part, and such was ever his principal object. The convocation of the States-General opened a field to his hopes the more extensive, as there then existed a violent and general fermentation against the Government, which was attacked at once by all the passions, not excepting even the love of the public good, some to reform it, others to destroy it. *Robespierre*, professing the most popular sentiments, and the most ardent zeal in the cause of the *Tiers-Etat*, easily succeeded in gaining an election as a Deputy to the States-General, and repaired to Versailles, transported with the most fanatic enthusiasm for all Republican ideas. The motions and extravagant speeches which they suggested to him rendered him completely ridiculous, and made him pass for a madman in the eyes even of the faction most violent against the government* ; and whenever he spoke, the ennui and disgust of his hearers were manifested by the most unequivocal signs. This outset, not

* That faction did not yet dare to mean any thing more than a Constitution *free*, but Monarchical, or, to speak the language of the times, a *Constitutional Monarchy*.

very

very flattering to his vanity, convinced him that it was not in this Assembly he could hope to play successfully the conspicuous part to which he aspired, and that he would never have the slightest influence in it, without some great revolution. That of the 14th of July revived his hopes. It opened to his mind at once the extreme weakness of the Government, the advantage that was to be derived from insurrections, and the means of exciting them. It was now in his power to form a plan, and he determined upon that of gaining completely the confidence and favour of the people, in order to make use of them one day for the purpose of overawing the Assembly. He soon became one of the principal leaders of the Jacobin Club. From that time he published a vast number of pamphlets, flattering the people, whose sovereignty he proclaimed and exalted. He gained over to him *Marat*, *Camille Desmoulins*, *Danton*, and all the Revolutionary furies, whose writings or motions always tended to exasperate the people against the King, the nobility, and the clergy; and thus successively followed the burning and pillaging of the country seats, the persecutions of the priests, the

outrages against the King's authority and person, the seizure of the property of the clergy, the abolition of the feudal rights, of the nobility, &c.

Robespierre finding that the Monarchy was still supported by the opinion of the public, and of the majority of the Assembly, aimed at securing the annihilation of it through the means of that very Constitution which it was said was to render it more solid and brilliant than ever. I will not repeat the different manœuvres which he and his cabal put in practice, in the course of discussing the Constitutional Act, to introduce into it regulations the most incompatible with a Monarchical Government. It is well known, that instead of a Constitutional Monarchy, so solemnly announced, the result was a Democratic Government, ill organized, and clogged with a King without power or means to prevent or to repress any of the encroachments of the First National Assembly, in which the majority were Jacobins. In the Legislative Body this advantage was secured to them by the Constitutional composition of the Primary Assemblies; and ten months and a half after the opening of this Second Assembly,

Louis XVI. was dethroned, and he and the Royal Family imprisoned. We have seen in the preceding chapters, that this outrage was directed by the villains who composed the new Commune of Paris, formed at the instigation of *Robespierre*, who was the soul and real chief of them, without daring to be their President.

The event of the 10th of August had entirely destroyed the *Constitutional* Monarchy: the Assembly, terrified by the threats of the Jacobins and of the Commune, had already taken a solemn oath of hatred to Royalty; the sovereign people wished for a Republic, and a National Convention was convoked to determine the form of it: thus all succeeded to *Robespierre's* wish, and his object seemed to be attained; but his boldness and ambition increased with his success. A Republican Government could no longer answer his views, but by his being at the head of it; and he got several Journalists, and particularly *Marat*, to point him out for Dictator. He could not endure the thought of a National Convention, composed, like the Legislative Body, of the most distinguished speakers of all the
Jacobin

Jacobin Clubs. He was afraid of having colleagues whose talents might counterbalance his influence. Villains as stupid as furious suited him much better. He thought of two ways for having a great number of such persons sent as Deputies to the Convention: the one was to admit all the rabble of the kingdom to vote at the elections, which was the object of the decree obtained by the Commune, abolishing the distinction of citizens active and not active; and the other was, to keep from the Primary Assemblies all the worthy citizens who were incapable of being accessory to the election of such worthless people; and this end was effected by the universal terror excited at the period of the elections by the arbitrary arrests and massacres instigated and encouraged by the Commune of Paris, who were always governed by *Robespierre*.

I here finish the picture of that monster, and think I have said enough of him to enable my readers to understand his conduct throughout the Revolution. Naturally a despot, his vanity and ambition made him a demagogue. He detested Royalty and nobility; because he could neither be a King
nor

nor a nobleman; talents, because he had none; religion, because it prohibited all the crimes for which he had occasion. His energy was only that of ferocity, and he was ferocious because he was a coward. The innumerable assassinations of which he was guilty were as often the effect of his terror as the means of his ambition, and the whole of his ability consisted in constantly pushing on towards his object, without any scruple in the choice of his measures.

The Electoral Assembly of Paris chose almost all the Deputies for the Convention among the Members of the Commune the most noted for their atrocity, such as *Robespierre* and his brother, *Marat*, *Collot d'Herbois*, *Paris*, *Sergent*, &c. They also elected the Minister *Danton*, the most sanguinary of villains, and the infamous Duke of *Orleans*, who, to the scandal of being leagued with such men, added that of solemnly abjuring for himself and for his posterity, his family name, and taking that of *Egalité*, on the 15th of September 1792! This shameful and stupid nick-name was much less a proof of his plebeian ardour than of his cowardice.

The other Electoral Assemblies of the
kingdom,

kingdom, swayed by the Members of the Jacobin Club; who composed the majority of them, almost every where elected men among those whose Revolutionary exploits presented the greatest number of crimes, or such as expressed themselves with the greatest violence in favour of a Republican Government, and of the regicide*. The Commissioners of the Commune of Paris who were sent, under different pretences, to all the neighbouring Departments for more than thirty leagues round, sowed these fatal dispositions the more effectually, as the absolute and unlimited authority which they took upon themselves to exercise gave them the greatest influence in all the towns through which they passed. One of those Commissioners, *Billaud de Varennes*, wrote from Chalons-sur-Marne, that in that town they had

* The Electoral Body of Meaux rapturously applauded and adopted a farmer's motion, that a cannon should be made of a caliber of the size of the head of *Louis XVI.* that in case of invasion the head of that traitor may be sent to the enemy; and the Commissioner of the Commune of Paris, sent to that Department for the purpose of furnishing subsistence, in giving an account of this fact to the National Assembly, called this villain a good farmer. Sitings of the 6th and 12th of September.

found

found the same spirit which prevailed at Longwy and Verdun; that they had observed the principle of that general lukewarmness in the Municipality who had taken no vigorous measures to fire the minds of the people; that they were going to rouse them by a proclamation, and that it was their intention to dissolve the Directory and the Municipality, if they did not ascertain that the majority of their members were inspired with the principles of the Revolution. These Commissioners also took it into their heads to inspect the armies, to examine the conduct of the Generals, to give them directions, and to lay down rules for military operations. "We began," said *Billaud de Vareennes*, "by visiting Marshal *Luckner*, from whom we received only insignificant answers. He seems very little acquainted with the details of Administration. He particularly appeared to us to have a very bad memory, for he did not recollect orders which he had given four-and-twenty hours before. We asked him what had been done towards the formation of the camp at Châlons, and he replied that nothing was yet begun. We instantly required of him to give orders

“ orders for beginning the necessary works
“ of that camp, which he promised, and
“ to-morrow the encampment will proba-
“ bly be formed.”

The Assembly, to whom these strange dispatches were communicated by the Commune themselves, did not dare to say a word against so scandalous an usurpation of the Executive Power. Swayed by the terror which the news of the taking of Verdun had spread, they were anxious only for the formation of the camp at Paris, and the energy of the means displayed by the Commune to accelerate the works* of it, made them consider their encroachments as slight irregularities. It required all the blindness of the most stupid fear not to see the inutility of this ridiculous enclosure, formed at a great expence about Paris, and of the

* The Council-General of the Commune ordered that all work on buildings should be immediately suspended, that the workmen might go and assist in preparations for the camp. Such was the terror of the Parisians, that in several churches they dug up the leaden coffins to make balls; and it required a decree of the Assembly to stop their proceeding in a work rendered dangerous by the infectious exhalations that were the consequences of it. September 7th.

immense

immense collection of ammunition and of artillery taken from the Departments of the North, where they were much more necessary. It was the armies in presence of the enemy, and the frontiers attacked or menaced, that the Revolutionists ought to have re-inforced by all possible means. It was in fact evident, that if the victorious armies of the allied Powers had penetrated into the heart of France, the Counter-revolution would have been completed long before they arrived under the walls of the Capital, the gates of which would undoubtedly have been immediately opened to them.

The vauntings of the French Generals, whose correspondence was daily read to the Assembly, were but a momentary relief to their fears*. They always promised success but announced only disasters, or doubtful and insignificant advantages in petty encounters, which tended to nothing. It is true that *Dumourier*, finding himself at the head of an army neither disciplined nor

* *Dumourier* writes, "Verdun is taken. I expect the Prussians. The camp of Grandpré, and that of the Illettes are the Straits of Thermopylæ; but I shall be more fortunate than *Leonidas*."

inured to war, and inferior in number to that of the Powers, must have been very careful not to hazard a general battle, and must have intended, as he says himself in his *Memoirs**, *only to gain time, and to ruin the Prussians without fighting*. The absolute want of every resource in the miserable country they occupied, and which the French army had already exhausted, the continual rains, and the dysentery which attacked their army, were very favourable to the success of this plan. The prudence of it will be evident on considering respectively the strength and position of the French, Austrian, and Prussian armies. The account of them which the Commissioners, sent by the Assembly to Châlons, gave on the 8th of September, on the report of General *Luckner*, was as follows :

“ General *Dumourier* occupies with his
 “ army the position of Granpré. His van-
 “ guard, commanded by *Arthur Dillon*,
 “ is at St. Menchould, and a post of that
 “ vanguard occupies the point below the
 “ Islettes, a village between Clermont and
 “ St. Menchould. The manner in which

* Vol. III. page 206.

“ the

“ which the different corps are stationed fe-
 “ cures these passes from every attack, Nature
 “ having there provided Art with infinite
 “ advantages. *Kellerman's* army is in the
 “ environs of *Bar-le-Duc*. The Generals
 “ *Dumourier* and *Kellerman* correspond
 “ easily with *Luckner*.

“ The vanguard commanded by *Arthur*
 “ *Dillon* consists of 7000 men. On the
 “ 12th of this month *Dumourier's* army,
 “ including this vanguard, will amount to
 “ 42,000 men. *Kellerman's* army amounts
 “ to 16,000, in the whole making 58,000
 “ men. This number is inclusive of the
 “ men with whom *Mareschal Luckner* may
 “ successively augment it.” *To this must*
be added, the twelve battalions and the
three squadrons which Dumourier ordered
Beurnonville to bring from the camp of
Maulde with the French, Belgic, and Liege
light infantry, which made in all 9000
men. They arrived on the 14th of Septem-
ber at Rethel, which is only ten leagues
from Grandpré, and by this junction Du-
mourier's army amounted to 67,000 men.*

* See the Life of *Dumourier*, Vol. III. page 83 and 117.

These forces were intended to defend Pvuilleuse, the forest of Argonne, which separates Champagne from the *Trois Evêches*, Mountains, rivers, streams, pools, and marshes, intersect this forest, and render it impassable to an army, except by five glades, through which run the roads leading from Champagne to the three Evêchés. These five passes are known by the names of *La Croix-au-bois*, *Grandpré*, *les Islettes*, *la Chalade*, and *le Chêne Populeux*.

The Commissioners, in the report I have just mentioned, made the Prussian and Austrian armies, together with that of the Princes, amount to 132,000 men; but this calculation was greatly exaggerated. The Prussian army, stationed between Verdun and Clermont, did not amount to more than 45,000 men. The army of Prince *Hohentoe-Kirchberg*, one part of which was to overawe Landau and Saarlouis, while the other besieged Thionville, was to have been 50,000 men strong; but the different detachments that were drawn from it to be sent into the Brisgau, under the command of the Prince *D'Esterhazy*, to the environs of Spire, under the command of Count *D'Erbach*, to the camp of Richemont, to Trêves, &c. reduced

duced the portion of this army, which joined the combined forces, to about 14,000 men. They were destined to besiege Thionville, but had no artillery proper for a siege; and even their field pieces were very insufficient. General *Clerfaye's* army, taken from that of the Low Countries*, consisted of only 15,000 men, and was reduced to 12,000 by the garrisons which he was obliged to leave at Namur, Mons, and Tournay. From this army also were detached the troops required to garrison Longwy, to cover Montmedy, and to watch Stenay. The Landgrave of *Hesse* joined the army on the 10th of September, with a reinforcement of 6000 of his troops. The army of the French Princes, composed of 22,000 men, was divided into three bodies. That which the Prince *de Condé* commanded amounted to 6000 men, and lay at Creutznach. The Duke *de Bourbon*, at the head of a division of 4000 men, joined the army of the Duke *de Saxe-Teschén*, Governor General

* The army of the Low Countries, which was to have been 60,000 men, amounted only to 30,000, and was reduced to 15,000 by the formation of *M. de Clerfaye's* army.

of the Low Countries. MONSIEUR and the Count *D'Artois* reserved for themselves 12,000 men, under the command of the Duke of *Brunswick*. The Prussian army, composed of these different divisions, amounted to 89,000 men, and consequently to 22,000 more than that of *Dumourier*.

Although these forces were about 60,000 less than the Powers had agreed to employ in this enterprise, they would have been more than sufficient to ensure the success of it, had less dependence been placed upon it, had their junction been less tardy, and, above all, had the service relative to the supplying of provisions, and to the artillery been less neglected. It was not probable that an army of 67,000 men, a great part of whom were indifferent recruits who had never been in action, and who were led by Generals, not one of whom had ever had four regiments under his command, could resist an army of 89,000 of the best troops of Europe, animated by the presence and bravery of the King of Prussia and his sons, and commanded by an experienced General, whose great abilities and military talents were universally acknowledged. The Campaign, however,

however, absolutely failed, and that fine army is now only famous for its disasters, and for the numerous conjectures that were made at the time respecting the motives for its inaction and retreat, which still remain unknown. I have neglected no means to procure information that might enable me to throw any light on this important point ; but in order to give more value to that which I have obtained, and to the inferences I draw from it, it is necessary for me to resume the order of the facts.

I must first request of my readers all the indignation against the atrocious and false imputation laid upon the Princes of having endeavoured to entertain in their army sentiments of hatred and of vengeance against the French, and of having instigated the massacres of the 2d of September, by the speech made to the French nobility under their command the day before they entered France, which was on the 23d of August. This speech, which was delivered by MONSIEUR, was as follows :

“ Gentlemen, to-morrow we enter France,
“ a memorable day, which must necessarily
“ have an influence upon the operations
“ which are entrusted to us, and our conduct
“ may

“ may determine the fate of France. You
“ are not ignorant of the calumnies with
“ which our enemies are continually loading
“ us, nor of the pains they take to report
“ that we are only entering our country to
“ satiate our private vengeance.

“ It is by our conduct, Gentlemen, by
“ the cordiality with which we shall receive
“ the misled French who shall throw them-
“ selves into our arms, that we will prove
“ to all Europe that the French nobility,
“ more illustrious than ever by their mis-
“ fortunes, and by their fortitude, know
“ how to conquer their enemies, and to
“ pardon the errors of their country. The
“ power placed in our hands would give us
“ the right of exacting what our interest
“ and our glory might suggest; but we
“ speak to you, to French Chevaliers,
“ whose hearts, glowing with true honour,
“ will never forget the duties which that
“ noble sentiment imposes upon them.”

At that time, when the superiority of the combined armies over that of *Dumourier* left no doubt on which side victory would remain, what sentiments more generous, what dispositions more moderate could the factious expect from that nobility so greatly slan-
dered,

dered, whom they had bereft of their rank, of their titles, and of their property; and whom their crimes of every kind had compelled to fly their country? How could murder or vengeance be instigated by such a speech? The wretches who spread this imposture could not gain it credit, but by substituting for the words of MONSIEUR the language which they themselves would have used, had they been in his place; and this was what they did.

It was not the King of Prussia's design, in entering France, to conquer it. All he intended was to give assistance to the Royalists, who were represented to him as very numerous, and only waiting for an ostensible army, a General, and the Princes, in order to join them. The resources of every kind which it was said the country was to furnish, and an abundance of which was warranted by the supposed favourable disposition of the inhabitants, had caused several measures and precautions, that would have been indispensable in a regular war of one Power against another, to be considered as superfluous; but pains had been taken with success to persuade the Emperor and the King of Prussia that a civil war would break

out in France as soon as their armies should advance into its territories ; that their powerful intervention would very speedily determine the issue of it against the Jacobins ; that the greater part of the troops of the line of the French army would immediately join the Royalist party, &c. It was upon these principles that the state and distribution of the forces destined to the execution of the plan of the campaign had been arranged, against the express opinion of the Duke of *Brunswick*, very fully stated in a note which he addressed to the King of Prussia, in the month of February 1792. The Duke foreseeing the difficulties and obstacles which might occur in the expedition with which he was to be charged, strongly insisted on the necessity of employing means adequate to the importance of the enterprise, in order that the success of it might not depend on the succours which were expected from the favourable disposition of the country. He thought that those succours, whatever they might be, ought not to be neglected ; but that it was wiser not to depend upon them : in a word, it was his wish that this war should be like all which he had been engaged in, a regular
and

and methodical one, and not an irruption, of which the risks would be incalculable. This opinion, the wisdom of which has been but too well justified by the event, ill accorded with the noble and generous impatience felt by the King of Prussia for the deliverance of *Louis XVI.* and the re-establishment of the French Monarchy. Enraptured with a design so glorious, *Frederick William II.* listened to no objection that tended to delay the execution of it. His Majesty flattered himself that he had accomplished by his alliance with Austria all that prudence could require; a flight of fancy in politics, the fallacy of which was soon demonstrated by experience. He calculated also, that though the treasure derived from the economy of *Frederick the Great* was far from being exhausted, the expences of a distant war would, if it were prolonged, or even if it required extraordinary forces, exceed the pecuniary resources of the Prussian Monarchy; *Frederic* determined therefore to go forward on the principles and with the means which the Duke of *Brunswick* had pronounced insufficient.

It was, however, perceived, as soon as the Prussian army entered into France, and particu-

particularly after the event of the 10th of August, that the disposition of the country was far from being so favourable as was expected. The people, on whom the greatest dependance had been placed, intimidated by the deposition and imprisonment of the King and his family, no longer dared to undertake any thing in favour of Royalty. The country, already exhausted by the French troops, presented few resources for subsistence; and the inhabitants, far from being ready to furnish or point out any to the allied armies, refused them the most common necessaries even for payment, and yielded only to force or threats. Besides, the Jacobins had neglected nothing to propagate throughout the Provinces the wildest enthusiasm respecting the advantages of the new order of things which they were about to establish. Such likewise was the object of the Commissioners whom the Assembly had sent to the army; and the factious had taken care to leave the command of fortified towns and of the armies only to persons on whom they could depend; and consequently, none of the French soldiers deserted to the Prussian army. The officers of *M. de la Fayette's* division, who emigrated immediately

ately after him, and who had expected to carry over their troops to the allied armies, to act with them in effecting a Counter-revolution, arrived alone, and gave a very unfavourable account of the disposition of the French troops, who had forsaken them at the time of their departure.

These circumstances could not but weaken hopes founded on a state of things which the manœuvres of the Jacobins and terror had entirely changed. The Duke of *Brunswick* again remonstrated, and proposed a plan less hazardous than that he was entrusted to execute. He wished, “ that after
“ having made himself master of a certain
“ number of fortresses on the Meuse, in
“ order to establish a safe position behind
“ that river, some corps of light troops
“ only should be made to pass it, to recon-
“ noitre the positions of the enemy, and to
“ ascertain the real intentions of the inhabi-
“ tants. He might thus have waited with-
“ out danger for the reinforcements neces-
“ sary to commence a methodical war; and
“ by obliging the enemy to keep his forces
“ in this quarter, the conquest of the Low
“ Countries might have been prevented.
“ Lastly, an honourable retreat, and on suf-
“ ficient

“ ficient grounds, might have been made,
“ had he been compelled to abandon the
“ enterprize, after finding there was no hope
“ of the concurrence which had been de-
“ pended upon.”

The extreme prudence of this plan was no less adverse to the glowing ardour that impelled *Frederic William* to march to Paris, than to the zeal with which the Emigrants were animated for the speedy deliverance of the King, and re-establishment of the Monarchy. “ A methodical war,” said they, “ might be the safest against a
“ regular Power, of which the strength and
“ the means were known ; but those of
“ France in Revolution are not to be calculated. Her armies, now deficient in
“ number, and undisciplined, will become
“ inured to war, will be disciplined, and
“ will be multiplied tenfold, if they are
“ allowed time for it ; and their leaders will
“ acquire from experience the knowledge
“ they want. The Revolutionary fanaticism will every day make fresh progress
“ in the minds of the people, whom it will
“ be impossible to recover but by force, if
“ advantage is not taken of their present
“ disposition. If that be not yet openly
“ mani-

“ manifested, it is because they are waiting
“ till some great success, some vigorous
“ resolutions, show them the party that is
“ to be victorious. It was neither in con-
“ sequence of the battle of Trebia, nor of
“ that of Thrasymenus, that any of the
“ allies or subjects of Rome went over to
“ Hannibal. He marched on, and gained
“ the battle of Cannæ, on which towns
“ and whole nations rose against the Ro-
“ mans, and sought his alliance. It is to
“ Paris the allies must march, and come
“ upon it like lightning, not to give the
“ factious time to recover themselves.”

These opinions had much weight with the King of Prussia, and determined the attack of Longwy, which capitulated, as I have already said, in the night between the 22d and 23d of August. The garrison did not march out till the 24th. The Duke of *Brunswick* stopped here three or four days, to establish magazines of provisions and forage, while the Prince *de Hohenloe* marched to station his army before Thionville, in order to watch Metz and *Luckner*. This Prince did not arrive at his post till the 29th. It would have been imprudent to
leave

leave Longwy till it was known that Thionville was covered, and *Luckner's* army restrained from any attempt on the communication with Luxemburg; for that communication might have been intercepted between Longwy and Luxemburg, as well as between the latter place and Treves; and the army of Metz might, without the least danger, have effected this division on either bank of the Mozelle. On the 30th the Prussian army invested Verdun, while General *Clerfaye* marched to Dun, where he crossed the Meuse. His view was to cut off the army of the patriots, or at least to watch and retard their march; and he did in fact fall in with a column of them that crossed the Meuse near Stenay.

The attack of Verdun did not require an army of 45,000 men, and the Duke of *Brunswick* might have detached a party from it to carry on the siege of Montmedy at the same time; but unfortunately he had not sufficient artillery to carry on two sieges at once. Besides, *Dumourier*, restrained only by General *Clerfaye's* army, which consisted but of ten or twelve thousand men, having declared to the Assembly his intention

tion of succouring Verdun, the Duke of *Brunswick* would have been guilty of the greatest imprudence, had he not kept at least a sufficient force to render that enterprize abortive, should it be undertaken; which it was, but without success*, and Verdun capitulated on the 2d of September. General *Kalkreuth* marched on the same day to Sivry-la-Perche with a detachment of 6000 men. Being relieved at this post the day following by the Prince *de Hohenloe*, he went and took possession of the heights of Monteville, on the road to Varennes, keeping the village of Monteville in his rear, to be the readier to act with M. *de Clerfaye*, who had just passed the Meuse to watch *Dumourier's* march.

While the Duke of *Brunswick* invested Verdun, the army of the Princes had marched to Hettanges, near Thionville, to join General *Wallis's* corps of observation. On the 5th of September their Royal Highnesses summoned the fort to surrender. On

* *Dumourier* sent thither *Galbaud*, a Lieutenant-Colonel of artillery, with two battalions; but he could go no farther than Dun, where he narrowly escaped being taken.

the

the refusal of the Commandant (*Wimphen*), General *Wallis* left his camp on the following night, and approached the advanced works with some twelve-pounders and howitzers. As the *Mareschal de Castries*, who commanded the hussars and Irish brigade, was to assist in this attack, he received a reinforcement composed of the first company *Noble d'Ordonnance*, the corps of cavalry belonging to the battalion of the nobility of Poitou, two pieces of cannon, and two mortars in very bad condition, taken from the park of artillery at Luxemburg. As night came on, he marched to the heights of the village of *Yatz*, which commands the fort. Both attacks commenced towards midnight, and lasted till three o'clock in the morning. The fort returned the fire of these feeble batteries very vigorously. The Prince *de Waldec* lost an arm in this affair. From the inutility of carrying on this attack without artillery fit for a siege, the project was abandoned, and the troops returned to their camp at day-break. A secret communication, however, was kept up with *Thionville*, as had been the case with *Longwy* and *Verdun*; and intelligence was received that that fortress, which was much stronger than

than the two others, would not have made a longer resistance, had it been as seriously attacked; but could it surrender without having been bombarded, and when, after a very feeble attack of three hours, the siege had been converted into a blockade?

The Princes set out on the 11th with all their cavalry, amounting to 6000 men, to go and join the King of Prussia's army, and left *Mareschal de Broglie* at the camp of Hettanges with their infantry, and the detachment of the *Mareschal de Castries*, who himself accompanied the Princes, and took the command of the division of cavalry under them.

After the taking of Verdun it was finally determined that the allied armies should push forward in France, although no favourable disposition in the Provinces, or among the French troops, had been perceived; but the ease with which Longwy and Verdun had been taken, was a good omen, and inspired the greatest confidence. Nevertheless the Duke of *Brunswick*, before he undertook any thing, waited at Verdun the arrival of the division commanded by the Princes, and the reinforcement of 6000 men with which the Land-

grave of *Hesse-Cassel* was to advance. These forces, and the army of the Prince *de Hohenloe*, who did not arrive till the 12th with 6000 men*, were necessary for the protection of the baggage waggons, and to keep open the communication of the army. The Landgrave of *Hesse* arrived on the 10th on the ascent of St. Michel, and the very next day the Prussian army set out for Malancourt. The head-quarters of the Princes was established on the 13th at Verdun, and their cavalry cantoned in the neighbourhood. The next day, Prince *Charles of Ligne* was directed by General *Clerfaye* to attack the post of La Croix-aux-bois, and he took possession of it after a feeble resistance. *Dumourier*, on being informed of it, immediately put two brigades and six squadrons, under the command of General *Chazot*, with four eight pounders, besides the cannon of the battalions, ordering him to advance with the greatest

* He had left the rest of his troops at the camp of Richemont, to watch Metz. Another corps remained in the neighbourhood of Etain, and a third at a little distance from Thionville. The object of the two last was to protect the communications.

rapidity to recover that post, and to make the attack immediately with the point of the bayonet, that the enemy might not have time to entrench themselves. *Chazot* punctually executed the order, and retook the post, after a battle that lasted a considerable time, and in which the Prince *de Ligne* was killed; but General *Clerfaye* receiving the news of this check, came up a few hours after, attacked and again forced the wood and village of La Croix, passed the works that defended it, and obliged the patriots to fall back in confusion beyond Vouziers*, to which place General *Clerfaye* advanced the day following; and on the same day General *Kalkreuth* arrived between Termes and Mouron.

Dumourier had just heard of *Chazot's* defeat, when the Prince *de Hohenloe*, on the 15th of September, sent to request a conference with him. He either could not or would not go himself, but sent one of his Generals, named *Duval*. This meeting, according to what *Dumourier* says of

* *Chazot* there received an order to march with his division, and join *Dumourier's* army, which was to be on the heights of Autri on the 15th.

it in his Memoirs *, was spent in civilities on the part of the Prince, and in vauntings on the part of *Duval*, respecting the excellent condition of the French army, and the number of troops with which it would be reinforced the next day by the junction of *Beurnonville* and *Kellerman*. The Prince *de Hohenloe* retired, without perceiving or suspecting any thing that indicated the retreat then meditated by *Dumourier*, and which he effected that very night, by means of so thick a fog, that the Prince *de Hohenloe*, although he commanded the foremost division, could not be informed of this movement till ten o'clock next morning. He followed the enemy with the whole reserve of the army, as soon as the fog was sufficiently cleared off to enable him to reconnoitre a defile so long and so narrow as that of Grandpré.

Dumourier having already passed this defile, drew up his army in order of battle on the heights of Autri, to protect the retreat of his rear-guard, harassed by about 1500 Prussian hussars, with three or four pieces of flying artillery. This rear-guard, on

* Vol. III. page 122.

leaving

leaving the defile of Grandpré, drew up on the heights, and the army formed a marching column to proceed to Cernai. At this moment General *Chazot* came out by Vaux with his division, who no sooner perceived the Prussian hussars, than they were seized with a violent panic, and precipitated themselves across the column of *Dumourier's* army. The hussars seeing this confusion; fell on them with impetuosity, and put the whole army to rout. These brave patriots fled with such prodigious celerity, that it might be said fear had given them wings. More than 2000 of them had rode from thirty to forty leagues by the next day without stopping. They reported everywhere that the army had been betrayed, that it was annihilated, and that *Dumourier* and all the Generals had gone over to the enemy. *Dumourier*, in his account of this shameful affair to the Minister *Servan*, expressed himself in a letter, which was read to the Assembly on the 17th of September, in these terms: "There was no action, but the flight
" of 10,000 men before 1500. If the
" enemy had pushed their advantage, they
" might have destroyed the whole army;

“ but all is repaired, and I answer for all.
“ I have 25,000 men in a good camp, and
“ if the enemy appear they shall be beaten.”
He alluded to the camp of St. Menehould, which he had not yet reached, and where he did not arrive till the 17th*.

The junction of the French armies determined the junction of the allies; and the division of cavalry under the Princes received orders to advance as expeditiously as possible to Vouziers. They set out from Dun on the 17th of September; but after getting beyond Buzancy, the vanguard was stopped by a large body of Austrians commanded by General *Clerfaye*, and occupied in removing the ruins that still stopped up the road from Dun to Vouziers. This obstruction compelled the Princes to fix their head-quarters at Buzancy, which they left on the 19th, and after one of the most laborious marches, halted at the village of St. Marie, where their army laid in the open field the whole night. Several corps, long delayed on their march by the bad roads, and constant rain, did not, till the night was far advanced,

* See *Dumourier's Memoirs*, Vol. III. page 128.

arrive

arrive at this place, where no kind of refreshment was provided.

On the same day the King of Prussia advanced with the army to Massige. The Prince *de Hohenloe* marched to Servon, and *M. de Clerfaye* to Somme-Suippe; so that Rheims and Chalons were both threatened. His Majesty's intention was to reconnoitre well the ground and positions of the enemy, and to march on the 20th nearer to Châlons, while Prince *Hohenloe*, remaining that day at Servon, should march on the next to Vienne-la-Ville, in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that side, and that the Islettes at the same time might be threatened on the side of Clermont.

While examining from the eminence near Ville-sur-tourbe, the camp of St. Menehould, occupied by *Dumourier's* army, the troops on the slope of the Hyron were seen moving from that height towards their left. Several parties and country people who had been sent nearer to obtain some information respecting this movement, unanimously reported that it was made in the direction to Châlons; and intelligence was received at the same time from Somme-Suippe, that French troops were arrived at Notre-Dame de

l'Épine, near Châlons, but it was not known from what quarter they came. These advices determined the King of Prussia to march again the same day. His Majesty led the army to Somme-Tourbe, and at the same time the reserve, commanded by the Prince *de Hohenloe*, advanced between Somme-Tourbe and Somme-Bienne. The whole army passed the following night on the watch. They expected next day to find the enemy on their march to Châlons, and depended on seizing the occasion to bring them to battle; and, in fact, the vanguard, commanded by the Prince *de Hohenloe*, had scarcely advanced half a league, when they fell in with a body of French cavalry, accompanied by artillery. The Prince attacked and pursued them; but the cavalry was numerous, and a thick fog, which did not clear up before ten o'clock in the morning, concealing their motions, the attack could neither be so prompt nor so vigorous as it would have been, but for that circumstance. The whole action passed in skirmishes, and continued to the highway between St. Menehould and Châlons, without any thing of the position of the enemy having been discovered. Meanwhile General *Clerfaye* had marched

to La Croix in Champagne, to watch the enemy at Châlons. As soon as the weather cleared up, some troops were observed on the heights of Gizancourt, and cavalry behind the village of La Lune. *Kellerman's* army was entirely concealed in the bottom at the back of Valmy; but about three or four thousand men, most of them cavalry, were seen on the side of the Hyron. The supposition that *Dumourier* was stopped in his march, was the reason of the eminence of Gizancourt not being immediately occupied. It was hoped that he would march thither, and that an opportunity would be found of bringing him to action before he had time to form; but this hope vanished about eleven o'clock in the morning. The French cavalry were then observed falling back behind Gizancourt, and some battalions, of which the heads of the men only were seen, were perceived near the mill of Valmy: it appeared that they had a considerable artillery, and that the French were bringing up their infantry towards Gizancourt. It was no longer doubted that they were endeavouring to take a masked position, that the number and disposition of their troops might not be discovered, and
the

the combined forces made haste to take possession of the heights of Gizancourt. A brisk cannonade then commenced between the two armies, which lasted all the day, without being very destructive to either side: but indeed the Austrian artillery fired only with powder, for their balls were not yet arrived: but the Prussians succeeded in intercepting the direct communication of the French army with Chalons, so that they could receive no supplies from it but by Vitry, which was a considerable way about. At the close of day *Kellerman's* army gave up the post they had occupied, to the Prussians, and encamped to the left of *Dumourier*.

General *Clerfaye*, whose junction with the Prussian army had been effected towards the end of the battle, encamped near Valmy: the Prince *de Hohenloe* occupied the heights of Gizancourt and the post of La Lune, on the highway to Châlons. The King of Prussia fixed his head-quarters at Hans, and two days after (the 22d) the Prussian army took a position on the declivity of the Hyron.

The division of cavalry commanded by the Princes were not at the cannonade of Valmy, but were then marching to Somme-Suippe, where they rested that day to recover

cover the fatigues of their preceding marches. The junction of General *Clerfaye*, the retreat of the patriots, and new intelligence of the favourable disposition of a part of their army, seemed to promise their Royal Highnesses more positive successes, and the glory of contributing to them, not only in conjunction with the brave nobility who accompanied them, but with all the good French, whom they flattered themselves that they should see deserting the standard of rebellion to support that of Royalty. Animated with this hope the Princes appeared on horseback on the morning of the 21st, and assembling all their cavalry in the extensive plains of Suippe, formed them into two columns. The order and silence prevailing throughout the whole line, and the beauty of the different corps of which it was composed, presented a noble *Coup d'Œuil*. Those plains, already rendered famous by the defeat of *Attila* surnamed *the Scourge of God*, seemed destined to acquire still greater celebrity in becoming equally fatal to *Jacobinism*, a scourge much more terrible than the King of the Huns. What confidence was inspired by the numerous phalanx of French *Chevaliers* rallying round

round the brothers and nephews of their King, and forming with them a new crusade to re-establish the altar and the throne, and to rescue France from her oppressors, and *Louis XVI.* from his murderers. The Princes and their division continued on horseback the whole day without taking any refreshment, in the expectation of an attack which did not take place; and towards the end of the day the different columns, which advanced in the direction of Somme-Tourbe and La Croix, received an order to remain at those places. The Princes fixed their head-quarters at Somme-Tourbe: their army remained in that position until the 24th, when it was judged indispensable to make some alterations in the situation of the troops, in order to facilitate their subsistence, and to protect the armies and their waggons against the incursions which were continually made by detachments from Reims and from Châlons. Most of the corps of the vanguard and of the right column, stationed since the 21st at La Croix in Champagne, received orders to retire on the 24th and 25th behind the armies at Suipe, Somme-Suipe, Jonchery, and St. Jean-sur-Tourbe.

Mareschal *de Broglie*, who on the 20th left

left the camp of Hettanges, after having given the command of the division of infantry to Prince *Xavier de Saxe*, and Count *de Martanges* under him, arrived on the 24th at head quarters at Somme-Tourbe; and that division resigning on the same day their position to the troops of General *Wallis*, marched to Etain, where they remained waiting for fresh orders to join the Princes.

Meanwhile the constant rains had so cut up the roads that the provision-waggons of the Prussian army, whose ovens were still at Verdun, took five days to go the same distance that would have required only two in dry weather, whence arose the most serious difficulties in furnishing the subsistence of the troops. Thus the King of Prussia, persisting in the design of penetrating farther into France, had no alternative but that of marching, without losing a moment, to make himself master of Châlons, where all the supplies for the French army were collected. This was what his Majesty warmly desired, and what all the General Officers of the army of the Princes advised; but, unfortunately, that desire and those councils were opposed by the following considerations:

tions : 1st, Châlons being five leagues from the position then held by the allied armies, the communication with Verdun, which was already very wide and very difficult to be kept up, would become still more so, and create a risk of wanting bread; 2dly, *Dumourier* could either march against the King's army and attack it, or suffering it to advance to Châlons, fall upon its rear, and entirely cut it off from its magazines; 3dly, the Prussian army, far from being so numerous, so splendid as at the opening of the campaign, was considerably weakened, and was daily decreasing from the terrible ravages of a dysentery*; 4thly,

* The Prussian army, at the period of the 29th of September, according to a statement, the accuracy of which it is impossible to doubt, consisted, with the detachments under General *Kalckreutz* and the Prince *de Hohenloe*, of 26,850 foot and 7426 horse, in all 34,276 men, from which are to be deducted the garrison of Verdun, the detachments that protected the waggons, and those that guarded the carriage of provisions. The Austrian troops, commanded by General *Clerfaye*, amounted at most only to 10,000 men, from which are to be taken the garrison of Longwy, a detachment to watch Montmedy, and another post at Dun to cover La Boulangerie. The army of the French Princes was 12,000 strong: total 56,276. *Dumourier's* army at that time amounted to 70,000 men.

if,

if, previous to marching to Châlons, it had been determined to attack *Dumourier* and hazard a general engagement, it is probable it would have succeeded, but it must have been extremely bloody, because the position occupied by that General, and which according to him was impregnable, was really susceptible of a vigorous defence; because his army, more inured to war, *more broke in to stand fire*, by several actions of the posts, and by the long cannonade of Valmy, amounted to about 70,000 men from the junction of *Beurnonville* and *Kellerman*; and, likewise, because it could not be denied that *Dumourier* united, more than any other General produced by the Revolution, the kind of spirit, the manners, the jargon, the talents, and the means best calculated to make the most of the sort of men of whom the French army was then composed. He made his soldiers both love and fear him; he possessed their confidence, and in the end always made them obey him*. But even in
the

* The French army having been for two days in want of bread, *Dumourier* was told that the soldiers were murmuring at it. He went to the camp, where he heard some discontented expressions, on which he put
on

the event of a complete victory, the King of Prussia's army could not prevent *Dumourier's* retreating

on a severe look, and said, "Where are these bad Citizens, so unmanly as not to be able to bear hunger? Let their arms and clothes be taken from them, and let them be sent away; they are unworthy of sharing with us the honour of saving the country. This day too you shall not have bread. Show yourselves soldiers capable of overcoming every thing. No more murmuring. *Vive la Liberté!*" The whole camp began shouting *Vive la Liberté! Vive notre Pere!* and very cheerfully went without bread.

Seven battalions of those Federates who had committed so many crimes at Châlons arrived at *Dumourier's* camp on the same day with *Beurnonville*. They had declared that they would suffer no epaulettes or *Croix de St. Louis*, and that they would bring the Generals to their senses. *Dumourier* advanced to the head of the line with all his Staff officers, and an escort of an hundred hussars. He had made the Federates encamp separately with some squadrons behind them and the artillery before. He addressed them thus: "You fellows, for I can neither call you citizens, nor soldiers, nor my lads, you see this artillery before you, and that cavalry behind you. You have disgraced yourselves by crimes — I will suffer no assassins, no butchers here. I will have you cut to pieces on the slightest mutiny. If you correct yourselves, if you follow the example of the brave army into which you have the honour of being admitted, you shall find in me a good father. I know that there are villains among you charged to instigate you
" to

retreating to Vitry, whither he had already sent the heavy baggage. He would there pass the Marne, and be able to form a new army by bodies from Vitry, Troyes, and Châlons; while the Prussian army, weakened by a bloody victory, by the continuation of the distemper, and by the necessity of leaving a great number of troops behind to protect its communications, would not be able to undertake any thing more, and would be continually decreasing for want of resources, in a barren and desolated country. But, in the contrary event, supposing against all appearance, but not against all possibility, that the Prussian army were beaten, they would be obliged to return by the defiles of Grand-pré, where they would run the risk of being cut to pieces or made prisoners, and would have no retreat except behind La Chiers, between Luxemburg and Longwy, where all the country would arm against them.

I leave to those who are more versed than I

“ to crimes; drive them away yourselves, or denounce them to me; I make you answerable for them.” These battalions, whom he afterwards visited every day, behaved very well, displayed still more patience than the others, and became very good troops.—See the *Life of Dumaurier*, Book V. Chap. X.

PART II. VOL. III. H h am

am in the military art and in local knowledge, to decide whether these objections were well or ill founded; certain it is that they made an impression on the King of Prussia. They must have made a still greater one on the Duke of *Brunswick*, who, as Generalissimo of the combined army, had to reconcile with his personal glory, the imperious duty of not exposing to too great hazards the flower of the Prussian army, the King's person, the Princes his sons, and the honour of his arms.

Another course presented itself, which was to retreat immediately, before the roads became too bad and the season was more advanced. The Prussian army thus returning to the *Evechés*, coming nearer to its resources for subsistence, still keeping possession of the defiles which they had secured, and continuing to cover that of the *Islettes*, might very safely have undertaken the siege of *Sedan*, and of *Montmedy*. Had *Dumourier* resolved to come to the relief of those two fortresses, he would have been forced to separate himself from *Kellerman*, and to leave a body sufficiently strong to cover *Champagne*, and his army thus weakened might the more easily have been beaten. The combined

tember, *Kellerman* informed *Dumourier* that Major-General *Heymann* had sent to request that Colonel *Manstein*, the King of Prussia's Adjutant General might have a conference with him. *Dumourier* immediately went to his colleague's head-quarters, where he found those two officers. The settling of a cartel for the exchange of prisoners between the French and Prussians was the ostensible object of this conference; but the cessation of disorders in France, a general peace, the liberty of *Louis XVI.* and the re-establishment of his authority, were the real points in view. This circumstance gave *Dumourier* an opportunity of rendering the most important services to his country, his King, and all Europe. Colonel *Manstein* assured him on the part of the King of Prussia that he should be supplied with all the assistance he could desire. His answer was, that although he disapproved of a part of what was passing in France, it was not for him to apply the remedy; that with respect to the war, it depended on the King of Prussia to put an end to it; that his army had only to retire to the frontiers and remain neuter, and that at present they must confine themselves

selves to drawing up the cartel of exchange.

“ We sat down to table,” says *Dumourier**, “ and after dinner became very so-
“ ciable. Colonel *Manstein* having then
“ explained himself more clearly, *Dumou-*
“ *rier* said to him, *Colonel, you have told*
“ *me that I am esteemed in the Prussian ar-*
“ *my: I shall think that it is no such thing*
“ *if you persist in proposing things to me*
“ *that would disgrace me. I wish to show*
“ *my respect for the King of Prussia; I*
“ *wish to see you again and to cultivate*
“ *your friendship, therefore let us talk no*
“ *more of such proposals. At this con-*
“ *ference it was agreed, that Colonel Man-*
“ *stein should go and dine next day with*
“ *the General. M. M. Manstein and*
“ *Heymann proposed that the firing should*
“ *cease in front of the camp. Dumourier*
“ *agreed that it was useless; and that very*
“ *evening a suspension of hostilities took*
“ *place in the front of the two armies.”*

This recital is not exact. The pretended inutility of the firing was not the reason of its suspension, which was the result of a

* See his Life, Vol. III. page 166.

proposition made by *Dumourier* to wait the return of a messenger to be sent by him to Paris, with passports from the King of Prussia. It is true that this messenger never returned; it is even possible that he never went, and that the proposal of sending him was but a stratagem of war employed by the French General to procure an opportunity of making an advantageous change in the position of his troops, and to prepare for harassing the Prussian army in its retreat, which he already considered as inevitable*. However this be, he has entirely passed over the anecdote relative to this messenger in silence.

Colonel

* *Dumourier* took advantage of the time given him by this armistice to send General *Dubouquet*, with sixteen battalions and two squadrons of horse, to Fresne, near Sommièvre, General *Després-Crassier* with 2000 foot and 1000 horse to Espense and Noirliu, and Colonel *Trecheville* with eighteen squadrons of light horse to Sommièvre, Herpont, and Moyon. He ordered General *d'Harville* to advance as far as St. Hilary. He dispatched General *Neuilly* with cavalry and light infantry to Faucancourt and Autrecourt, to turn the forest of Argonne, and to harass the left wing and rear of the enemy. He formed for *Beurnonville* a vanguard for twenty-four battalions, and fifteen squadrons of horse, which he posted on the right bank of the Aisne, with orders

Colonel *Manstein* dined on the 24th with *Dumourier*, and told him, among other things, that the King of Prussia had no desire to continue the war with France, or to interfere in its Constitution or Government. He put into his hands some propositions drawn up under six heads, the first of which required, that the King should be at liberty, and be restored to his authority as it was fixed before the 10th of August. In answer to these propositions, which *Dumourier* himself acknowledged to be very moderate, he communicated to Colonel *Manstein* the official dispatch which he had just received, and which informed him of the decree that converted the French Monarchy into a Republic. Colonel *Manstein* expressed his sorrow for it to *Dumourier*, who seemed to sympathise with him.

orders to advance as far as Cernon and Condé, to harass the convoys on the roads of Autry and Grand-champ; and he likewise ordered him to send forward some hussars and light infantry as far as the old camp of Grand-pré across the forest. See the *Life of Dumourier*, Vol. III. page 166. *Dumourier* had at that time near 70,000 men assembled, of which more than 12,000 were cavalry, according to the account given by the Minister of War to the Assembly in his letter on the 19th of September, read in the Sitting of the same day.

The cartel for the exchange of prisoners was settled at this second conference. Colonel *Manstein* required that the Emigrants should be included in it, which was opposed by *Dumourier*, on the grounds of the Emigrants being Frenchmen in arms against their country, making war in their own name, and with denominations of troops entirely French*. What a moment did this Revolutionary General take to censure the conduct of the Emigrants! Was not the cause of Religion, of the Monarchy, and of Royalty the true cause of the Country?

* He was not satisfied with excluding the Emigrants from the Cartel, he sent the book of orders belonging to their army, which by an unfortunate accident had fallen into his hands, to the Minister *Servan*, charging him to transmit it to the Assembly. "They may look into it," said he in his letter, "for the names of those Chevaliers who are as much despised in the Prussian as abhorred in the French army." See *Dumourier's letter to the Minister*, dated October 2, 1792, reported in the *Moniteur* of the 5th of the same month, page 1184, 2d column. The Convention decreed that this book of orders should be endorsed and marked on each page, and that Commissioners should draw out a statement of the names of the Emigrants contained in it, the list of which should be printed, made public, and sent to the Municipalities. Decree of October 4th, 1792. *Dumourier* may be considered then as the author of the list of Emigrants.

Was

Was not combating the horrible anarchy and bloody tyranny to which it was a prey, the most signal service they could render it?

What, on the other hand, was the cause which *Dumourier* defended? Was it not that of traitors, of perjured men, of villains, who not content with having dethroned and loaded with fetters the Monarch to whom they had sworn, as he had done, to be faithful, had annihilated that very Constitution which they had sworn, as he had done, to maintain or die? If, more faithful to honour and to so many oaths, *Dumourier* had resolved to employ the ascendancy he had gained over his soldiers, to rouse and direct their patriotism; if, exciting and exalting the sentiment of their dignity, he had put them in mind that they were the soldiers of the nation, and not of a band of villains, who, in order to seize upon all the powers, had just overthrown the Constitution which the whole nation had adopted, and which all the armies had sworn to maintain, it is more than probable that the one under his command would not have hesitated to follow him to Paris; that at his approach the Convention, the *Jacobins*, and the brigands would have disappeared;

peared; that he would have entered the Capital without shedding a drop of blood, and have been there hailed the saviour of France. He would have broken the fetters of *Louis XVI.* raised his Throne, and re-established his authority: the Constitution would have been reformed and improved without a shock by a new Assembly, composed of worthy men, equally prudent and intelligent; and the first use that the King would have made of his power, would have been to reward such signal services. *Dumourier* might have been Grand Constable of France, Prime Minister, loaded with honours, and he would have merited all. To what man did ever Fortune offer a more brilliant part? And how can any one, having understanding, great ambition, and energy, suffer to escape those rare opportunities which promise much glory, whatever be the event, as it depends on the merit of the enterprize, and not on its success. "Nothing so lowers a great man," says Cardinal *de Rétz*, "as not to be exact in
" seizing the decisive moment of his repu-
" tation; it is hardly ever missed, but the
" better to seize that of his fortune, by which
" he is generally doubly deceived." This
obser-

observation, confirmed by so many examples, was *Dumourier's* influencing planet.

The cartel for the exchange of prisoners was drawn up, and the Emigrants excluded from it. The Prussians, Austrians, and Hessians only were mentioned in it; and it was agreed that Colonel *Thouvenot* should go and sign it the next day at the King of Prussia's head-quarters. He was very well received there, and had a long conversation with the Marquis *de Lucchezini*, which was published a few days after in the newspapers.

Dumourier having heard that the King of Prussia was in want of coffee and sugar, took the liberty of sending him twelve pounds; to which he added some fruit and white bread. His present was received, but he was told to send no more. The greatest cordiality prevailed between the advanced posts of the two armies, and the French shared their bread with the Prussians*.

Meanwhile the King of Prussia, finding that the negociation which he had opened with *Dumourier* was not attended with the issue he had expected, and that the Na-

* See the Life of *Dumourier*, Vol. III. p. 170.

tional Convention had already decreed the abolition of the Monarchy, and proclaimed the Republic, his Majesty thought it necessary to delay no longer taking a final determination; and he called a Council at Hans, to which the principal Generals of all the armies were summoned. General *Kalkreuth*, who spoke first, stated the bad condition of the cavalry, and observed, that to attack the French army, it would be necessary to march to the right and pass the Aube, in order to come upon the left flank of the enemy; a movement that could not be made without still farther endangering the communications, which were already but too much exposed.

The Duke of *Brunswick* and the other Prussian Generals urged the bad state of the army, the difficulty of subsisting them, the obstructions thrown in the way of prompt movements and hazardous enterprises, and the imprudence and danger of exposing to the uncertain issue of a battle an army so weakened by disease, and whose communication with Verdun, the only place from which they could obtain provisions, was threatened.

The French Generals, and particularly
Marschal

Mareschal *de Broglie* and Mareschal *de Castries*, opposed these objections with all the energy excited by the situation of the Royal Family, and an ardent desire to fly to their relief. They had no doubt of the success of a general engagement; and it was their opinion that it ought to take place as soon as possible, that they might march to Châlons, where they should find immense supplies, by means of which the Prussian army would no longer be liable to be weakened by the separation of numerous detachments to protect communications become useless. General *Clerfaye* supported this opinion.

The King of Prussia, animated by the same sentiments, inclined so openly to this opinion, that at the breaking up of the conference, he spoke of fixing the 29th for the attack: it is certain at least, that the news of it was carried to the Princes, and spread the liveliest joy throughout their army. But *Frederic William* in the end adopted the opinion of the Duke of *Brunswick* and the Prussian Generals; and at the moment when the armies expected to receive orders to march against the enemy, they were commanded to retreat. On the day before, the suspension of hostilities was suddenly countermanded,

termanded, and the friendly communications broken off by *Dumourier* on the receipt of the manifesto, or declaration, which the Duke of *Brunswick* sent to him by one of his *Aid-de-camps* *. *The Duke of Brunswick*, said he, *certainly takes me for a Burgomaster of Amsterdam: tell him, that from this moment the truce is at an end, and that I gave the order for its ceasing before you.*

The Princes, with their cavalry, left their cantonments on the 30th, and arrived, after a march of two days, at *Vouziers*, whence they advanced to *Stenay*. The Austrians and Prussians retreated beyond the *Aisne* with the same expedition. The bad roads, and the treachery of the waggoners, occasioned the loss of many of the waggons, which were pillaged by the patriots and by the Prussians themselves.

As soon as the first column of the army of the Princes was on the highway to *Stenay*, several bodies of French cavalry were seen coming out of the woods of *Mont-Dieu*, and spreading themselves behind the hills, then suddenly sending scouts

* See Appendix, No. XXXVI.

to the heights, some regiments of infantry appeared in view with two pieces of cannon, which they pointed on the column. The manœuvres ordered by *Mareschal Broglio* at this moment were so executed, that those random gunners were soon made to vanish, and the retreat of the Princes secured, notwithstanding all the dispositions which *Dumourier* had made *to harass their march, and to fall on their rear guard* *. They arrived at Stenay, where they fixed their head-quarters †.

* See *Life of Dumourier*, Vol. III. p. 177.

† They left it on the 8th of October, and arrived on the 12th at Arlon. Their infantry arrived there on the same day after the most laborious marches, and the greater part of their baggage pillaged or lost. On the 16th *MONSIEUR* left Arlon at the head of the columns, and arrived on the 21st at the *Chateau de la Neuville*, three leagues from Liege. He there fixed his head-quarters, where the different columns of the army of the Princes successively arrived. The division commanded by the *Duke de Bourbon*, which, from the opening of the campaign, had been attached to the army of the *Duke de Saxe-Teschén*, received orders to leave it and join the armies of the Princes. This junction was effected on the 18th of November, and ten days after their Royal Highnesses had the pain of announcing to their army the order for their being disbanded.

The

The retreat of the Prussians was made with the greatest order, as *Dumourier* himself confessed. *The King* never left his rearguard, where he personally distinguished himself, evincing as much perseverance as he had before displayed bravery in the battle of *Valmy*, where he was at the head of his columns: but this unfortunate army might be traced by the dead bodies of men and horses that were strewed upon the road.

It was not yet too late to undertake the siege of *Sedan*; it was the Duke of *Brunswick's* intention, and General *Clerfaye* and the Prince *de Hohenloe* were already instructed to proceed to the operations, when the Duke *de Saxe-Teschen* recalled General *Clerfaye's* army, on receiving news that *Dumourier* was marching to the relief of *Lille*; and a few days after the Landgrave of *Hesse* recalled his troops to defend his own States, which were threatened by General *Custine*: thus was the Duke of *Brunswick* forced not only to renounce the plan of besieging *Sedan*, but to evacuate, first, *Verdun*, and then *Longwy*, to go and recover *Francfort*, arrest the progress of General *Custine*,

Custine, and save Coblentz and the territory of Trêves.

Such was the deplorable issue of this famous campaign, from which the allied Powers, the French Princes, and all the Royalists, expected such favourable consequences! And to what cause can we impute reverses so unforeseen, so incredible? This question must be left for the future decision of History: it will not be determined till the passions and party spirit, which never look but at the outside of things, be sufficiently allayed to give place to impartiality. In the first place, it is necessary to banish the chimerical and absurd suppositions which, at the time, ignorance or malice obtruded on the public curiosity, as the motives for the Duke of *Brunswick's* retreat. The facts which I have related seem to me to prove sufficiently that it had become indispensable at the time it was determined upon. The pretended letter from *Louis XVI.* written from the Temple, to request the retreat of the armies, never existed. This is ascertained by *Clery's Journal*. The courier from London, supposed to be charged with a similar commission, is a still more improbable story. England has been

often accused, and always without the least proof, of encouraging the Revolutionary faction, which never had a more invariable or more formidable enemy than that country; but even supposing, against all truth, that in 1792 the English Government, swayed by politics so narrow and barbarous, had desired a continuance of the troubles that agitated France, till she was so weakened, that she could no longer be a formidable rival; and that this motive had induced them to propose to the Duke of *Brunswick*, or to the King of Prussia, to draw off his army, is it probable that that brave monarch, who daily exposed his life like a common soldier, that he might have the glory of being the deliverer of *Louis XVI.* and of France, would not have rejected with indignation so scandalous a proposition? Can it be imagined that the Duke of *Brunswick* would have consented to sully the most honourable military career with so disgraceful an action? As for the negotiation opened with *Dumourier*, I have already stated the object of it; it certainly had no connection with the retreat of the Prussian army, and it cannot be better proved than by the manner in which the negotiation

tion was broken off. There was the greater reason for hoping that it would succeed, as five months before, *Dumourier*, then in the Ministry, had sent a person of the name of *Benoist*, formerly employed in the Police Office, to General *Heymann*, with a proposal to deliver up the King of France at any place that should be agreed upon. This proposal was communicated to M. de *Bischofswerder*, who, after taking the King of Prussia's orders, answered, that nothing could be done in the matter till the armies were on the frontiers of France. That time was arrived, and certainly it was not to be expected that *Dumourier*, when a General; should consider as *dishonourable*, proposals he had himself made when a Minister. It was more natural to presume that he had been anxious to obtain the command, that he might be the more able to execute the plan he had conceived.

I shall say no more respecting the retreat of the Duke of *Brunswick*; I believe I have sufficiently proved that he was compelled to it by irresistible necessity. There can therefore remain no reasonable doubt as to his motives. It is not easy to point out all the causes to which the disasters of this

campaign are to be attributed: one of the principal, and perhaps the most fatal of the whole, was the extreme confidence of success. It was imagined that the combined armies would meet with no resistance; that all the fortresses would open their gates to them; that as soon as they had passed the frontiers, the Royalists, the malcontents, and French deserters would join them by thousands, and that they would find immense supplies and resources in the country. So convinced was the Emperor of this, that he had not hesitated to reduce about 60,000 men of the number of troops he was to furnish, and to send the others without heavy artillery. The neglect of the arrangements relative to provisions and military supplies, the manifesto with ridiculous threats, which was preferred to that proposed by *Louis XVI.* through *Mallet-du-Pan*, and the delay of opening the campaign for more than two months, were the consequences of the same illusions. The days required for marching to Paris had been calculated, with a firm persuasion that there could be no obstacle to stop the armies on the way.

These first errors were the more serious,
because,

because, had the Duke of *Brunswick's* army been prepared to enter France at the time when the outrages of the 20th of June excited a general indignation against the Jacobins, and against the Assembly; and had he announced by his manifesto, *that the Powers, justly provoked to take up arms, by the factious who prevailed in France, had no intention whatever to make war against the country; that no idea of invasion or of conquest had induced the march of their armies, which were destined to protect the worthy French, and enable them to prevent the King and his Family from being exposed to fresh outrages from the brigands;* he might have gained the support of the majority of the inhabitants of the Provinces through which he would have marched, and have everywhere secured abundant resources. The French armies, too weak to have resisted, would have fled before him, and a great number of deserters would have augmented his army, whose approach, concurring with *M. de la Fayette's* conduct to the Legislative Body, would have spread a timely alarm throughout the Capital, and in all probability have decided the Counter-revolution. The mis-

fortune of not having taken the advantage of so favourable an occasion, might still have been repaired, if the Duke of *Brunswick* had had at his command 60,000 men more, with a sufficient quantity of heavy artillery, and the military supplies he had required. He would not then have been obliged to wait nearly a month for the arrival of General *Clerfaye*, of the Hessian troops, and of those commanded by Prince *Hohenloe*. He would, on the contrary, have made himself master of all the fortresses before the 26th of August, and marched to Châlons, driving before him, or cutting to pieces *Dumourier's* little ill-conditioned army, which *Kellerman* and *Beurnonville* had not yet joined. Being master of that town, and of all the magazines of the French army kept there, the Duke of *Brunswick* would have been able to march to Paris, where he would have arrived, without any obstacle, in the beginning of September, with an immense army in the best condition*.

The French Princes and Emigrants have

* The constant rains and the dysenteries, which cut off almost the half of this army, did not begin till after this period.

been

been accused, with great asperity, of having caused all the disasters of this campaign, by deceiving the Powers, in respect to the disposition of the country, with solemn assurances that were not supported, and with informations declared to be positive, but which the event proved to be unfounded. This charge is unjust. I was then in France, and no one had it more in his power to be exactly informed of the disposition of the country. It is certain, that after the 10th of August the Assembly, governed and protected by the Commune of Paris, had no other adherents, no other support in the Provinces, than the Jacobin Clubs and some thousands of vagabonds and worthless fellows, who, under the denomination of *patriots* and *sans-culottes*, were breaking open the prisons, pillaging property, and committing murder. The rest of the nation, thunderstruck at all the crimes that were perpetrated, saw with indignation the supreme authority and all the powers of Government in the hands of the vilest rabble, and sincerely wished, not for a return of the abuses, or even of all the institutions of the old system, but the re-establishment of order and of the legitimate power of the King,

whose dreadful situation inspired the greatest interest in nineteen out of twenty of the inhabitants of the Provinces, and inclined them to revolt against the prevailing tyranny. There is no doubt, that if at that time the Princes and Emigrants, declaring, as they did, intentions conformable to the general wish, had appeared *at the head* of an army sufficiently formidable to dispel the fears of those who should support them, they would have been joined every day by immense numbers of volunteers, and by a great part of the French troops of the line.

The Princes, therefore, by the information they gave, did not deceive the Powers, who must blame themselves that the hopes they had formed upon it were not realised. It was not sufficiently considered, that however favourable the dispositions of the Royalists and malcontents of the Interior might be, they were still more powerfully swayed by an extreme repugnance to second in any manner the project, which it was imagined the Emperor and King of Prussia had in view, of imposing a Government on France, and of dismembering the country either by conquests, or by prevailing on *Louis XVI.* to cede some Provinces by way of indemnity

1

nity for the expences of the campaign, or as the price of his deliverance, and re-establishment of his authority. This project, which all the Journals and Revolutionary pamphlets endeavoured to confirm, was indeed denied in the manifesto published by the Duke of *Brunswick*; but it is well known that that manifesto created as little confidence as fear. Besides, it was far less by words than by actions that those apprehensions were to be dissipated: they would have been completely removed, if at the opening of the campaign the Princes had been seen the first entering France at the head of all the Emigrants, supported by 50,000 Prussian and Austrian auxiliaries, while they left on the frontiers an army of 100,000 men ready to fly to their assistance in case of necessity. This was unquestionably the surest and most advantageous plan; and people of the best intentions in France thought that there could be no other reason for rejecting it, than because the allied powers did not choose to confine themselves to a secondary part. They might, at least, without injuring their dignity, have composed the van-guard of their army with all the Emigrant corps, and employed them on
some

some important enterprize, supplying them with sufficient means to succeed. It would then have been seen what would have been the effects of the joy and enthusiasm inspired by the presence of the Princes entering France with a powerful army, at the period when the Royal Family were sent to prison, and calling upon all the loyal French to follow them to Paris to save the King : every town would have followed the example of Longwy and Verdun.

This would have been the way to obtain a knowledge of the disposition of the country, and to turn it to the greatest advantage ; but when, on the contrary, the 22,000 Emigrants who composed the army of the Princes were seen divided into three bodies ; one sent into the Brisgau under the command of the Prince *de Condé*, another to Ardenne under the command of the Duke *de Bourbon*, and the third commanded by MONSIEUR and the Count *d'Artois*, kept at a distance behind the combined army, and employed, or rather condemned to present to the world the strange and ridiculous sight of a siege undertaken without artillery, it was not doubted but that the unfortunate Emigrants were trifled with, and that the
Powers

Powers were determined to sacrifice them. And how could this opinion but prevail, when it was seen with what an unmanly and disgusting readiness Colonel *Manstein*, who was charged to negotiate with *Dumourier* an exchange of prisoners, consented to exclude the Emigrants from the cartel! From that moment the Powers, and particularly Austria, were suspected of the most interested and ambitious views; and the effect of that suspicion, more or less founded, was not only to destroy the good disposition which the combined army would have found in the country, but to make all interests yield to that of repelling the invasion, and to unite almost all the parties in the cause of the factious.

Another great error was preventing **MONSIEUR**, when he entered France, from declaring himself Regent of the kingdom during the captivity of the King and Royal Family. That was a right of which he could no more be deprived than of his title to the Throne, next in succession to the Dauphin; he was therefore authorized to exercise it, notwithstanding any opposition whatever; and the imprisonment of their Majesties and the welfare of the State imposed it upon him

him as a duty. The Baron *de Breteuil* pretended to be charged to oppose it, and founded this pretension on the Powers which I have already proved were revoked. But had they been still in force, they would evidently have been inapplicable to existing circumstances; for the captivity of the King and of his Family had not certainly been foreseen when they were granted. Besides, his Majesty himself could no more have deprived his brother of the rights which devolved upon him on the captivity of the Royal Family, than he could by his will have dispossessed him of his rights to the Crown after the death of the Dauphin. What influence, what submission, what respect, would not MONSIEUR have obtained, as Regent of the kingdom, lawfully invested by that title with all the rights of Royalty, and plenitude of the Executive Power, and exercising them with energy and with wisdom at the head of a powerful army! It is now no longer doubted, that whoever counselled the Emperor and King of Prussia not to acknowledge the rights of MONSIEUR to the Regency, gave them either the most foolish or the most perfidious advice.

In

In short, had any political motives whatever determined the Powers to disdain or to neglect so imprudently the advantages that would have been secured to them in the interior of France by the intervention of the French Princes at the head of the Emigrant corps, if they had been employed as they ought to have been, they should at least have pursued the methodical plan of war proposed by the Duke of *Brunswick*, and have furnished him with all the means which he had declared to be necessary for supporting it with success. His plan, it is true, had been adopted; but neither artillery nor the number of troops he had demanded to execute it were given to him. The disasters which were the consequence of it are well known, and I entirely submit my observations on their causes to those persons who had it in their power to receive better information than I had. Respecting the political measures that marked this period, I shall only add, that the partition of Poland was the most treacherous, the most inconsistent, and, at the same time, the most fatal of all; for it became the chief source of the misfortunes which succeeded the campaign of 1792. How was Europe scandalized

lized in beholding the very Powers who had coalesced to re-establish one King upon the Throne, coalescing also to dethrone another, and divide his territories ! What a triumph for the Jacobins, and for their principles ! What blindness, what immorality on the part of certain Cabinets !

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

D. N. SHURY, PRINTER, BERICK STREET.



3 2044 044 483 493

**THE BORROWER WILL BE CHARGED
AN OVERDUE FEE IF THIS BOOK IS
NOT RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON
OR BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED
BELOW. NON-RECEIPT OF OVERDUE
NOTICES DOES NOT EXEMPT THE
BORROWER FROM OVERDUE FEES.**

**Harvard College Widener Library
Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 495-2413**

